

T H E
Parliamentary Register;

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P R O C E E D I N G S A N D D E B A T E S

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O F

G R E A T B R I T A I N .

V O L . VII.

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MDCCLXXVII.



HOUSE OF COMMONS;
OF THE
TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF THE
TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

THIRD SESSION OF THE FOURTY-SEVENTH PARLIAMENT

OF GREAT BRITAIN

VOL. VII.

LONDON:

Printed by J. Almon, opposite Buxton's House,
in Pall-mall.

MDCCLXXII

THE
HISTORY

OF THE
PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES

Of the THIRD SESSION of the
HOUSE of COMMONS.

OF THE
Fourteenth Parliament of *Great-Britain*,

February 26.

THE House in committee on importing lumber, from the Baltic. For the resolutions agreed to by the committee, see page 274.

Adjourned to the 28th.

February 28.

Private business. Adjourned to the 3d of March.

March 3.

Bills passed. Adjourned to the 7th.

March 7.

Private business. Adjourned to the 11th.

March 11.

Hon. *Temple Luttrell* (in consequence of having given notice some days ago) moved to bring in a bill, for manning the navy in times of war, &c. *Honourable Temple Luttrell.*

It is a fundamental maxim, he said, with the excellent writer on the spirit of laws, that when any law is proposed which indicates more good than evil to a state, such law ought to be received. The unconstitutional effects, the oppression, and inefficacy of the present mode of levying men for the navy by an impress, are but too sensibly felt by the whole nation. A valuable sea-officer [Governor Johnstone] who is a distinguished ornament to this legislature, and whose private and public character do real honour to human nature, having formerly treated of the practice of impressing, says, "It disgraces government, shocks the spirit of our constitution,

tion, and violates the laws of humanity ; therefore every plan to obviate the evil, has a claim to a patient hearing and candid discussion."---That worthy member's remarks must, I am sure, strike every body, who duly considers them, as just and forcible. Is it not an abominable sight, in a free country like ours, to have a number of sailors, with fire-arms and cutlasses, frequently, in the dead of night, sometimes intoxicated with liquor, making their way into the dwellings of peaceable inhabitants, dragging a sober, unoffending subject from his home and settled means of livelihood, to convey him on board an impress tender, from thence to a guard-ship, imprisoned amidst the moral and physical contagion of a miscellaneous, kidnapped crew, to be driven across the seas, no mortal can tell him where, nor for how long a time ; and what is still worse, seized by surprise, not suffered to bid a kind farewell to his wife and family, nor have thought of their future subsistence, when deprived of his care ; to adopt a new way of life, perhaps that for which his limbs and faculties are the worst calculated and fashioned by his Creator ? And, Sir, is it not a serious matter of reproach to this wise, this liberal nation, never yet to have provided a remedy for such dreadful and extensive sufferings ? What tumults, fear, and confusion arise in every city, town, and village, within ten or twelve miles of a press-gang ! and what numberless inconveniences to all conditions of persons throughout Great Britain ! In 1770, the Lord Mayor of London represented to the board of admiralty, that the city of London was so infested with press-gangs, that tradesmen and servants were prevented from following their lawful business. A gentleman in Yorkshire, of rank and veracity, (who was formerly a member of this House) sends me word, that such is at this time the general apprehension in that part of England from a press-gang at Tadcaster, that the labourers on his estate are dispersed abroad like a covey of partridges ; neither could half of them be brought back to their work, till the steward had given them assurance of his master's protection ; still it seems they are afraid to return to their own homes at night, and therefore constantly beg leave to sleep upon straw in the stables and out-houses of their landlord. In the west of England, the public are now so prejudiced by press-gangs, that I have read a letter from Exeter, dated February 24, which observes, that there had been no fish in their town for upwards of a fortnight---a circumstance scarce known within the memory of man ; and another correspondent of mine paints the miseries

of

of the neighbouring coasts, in as strong colours as if there were famine, pestilence, or some other awful and almost preternatural visitation of Providence---markets deserted, the price of the most urgent necessities of life thereby greatly enhanced, and numbers of families among the inferior classes of mankind, from the insecurity of the masters of those families, by whose toil and industry they had long been maintained in comfort, reduced at once to the verge of poverty and wretchedness ! How shamefully has this unconstitutional licence of the impress been abused at the town of Leicester, where men, the most unfit in every respect for the sea service, were kidnapped, collared with iron, and manacled with cords or fetters, sent up to London, in the basket of the stage-coach, (as I understand) under command of a serjeant of militia, in violation of the most sacred laws of your constitution,---with an heavy local expence, and to no better end than to have them at length put at large, as totally incapable of the errand they set out upon ! The animosities within this very metropolis of your empire, on the subject of impressing men for the navy, and the law-suits depending thereupon in the courts of Westminster-hall, must occasion, as well to government as to people in general, much embarrassment and apprehension. In several of the ports along the north-east coast of England, you have actually subsisting, a dangerous commotion among large bodies of sea-faring persons, occasioned by many lawless proceedings of the press-gang, and every day's post brings some new detail of innocent lives lost, or limbs broken in that quarter.---Sir, there have been lately no less than one hundred and twenty men pressed, without distinction, in or about Bethnal-green and Spital-fields, of which between seventy and eighty, after suffering every hardship, and leaving their families distressed at home, obtained a discharge, as of no use to the service.---Having already cursorily touched on some of the calamities and unconstitutional outrages affecting those manufacturers, mechanics, and husbandmen, who never exercised, nor had in contemplation, the trade of a seaman, I must next take a short view of your cruelty towards mariners by profession. They are not only liable to the same inhuman violence and surprize with landmen, but when seized on board trading vessels for the purpose of serving his Majesty, are often imposed upon by fraudulent or imperfect bills, on account of wages due to them for past hire in the trader's employ. The lives of many brave officers and their followers have been sacrificed, or they

have come off cruelly maimed by this invidious part of their duty. A multitude of seamen have been drowned by attempting to swim ashore from their ships, or have been shot by the centinels while they endeavoured to escape under cover of midnight darkness; being driven to phrenzy and despair for want even of a shadow of hope, that they might one day or other be entitled to a legal discharge.

I remember, Sir, one Robert Fosper, a gunner's mate, belonging to the Resolution man of war, who, having been forcibly detained in the King's service, without remission, upwards of seventeen years, twice endeavoured to hang himself, was cut down, and cruelly restored to the same endless bondage. Many tragical events, still more decisive than this, occur in the private memoirs of your seamen. Some die through a gradual vexation and despondency; while others ere they can be seized on shore, torture and mutilate their limbs to incapacitate themselves for the yoke.

What havock is made during an impress, by fevers and various infectious illness! the captive seamen being crammed unwholesomely together, or too long confined on board an impress-tender. In 1771, during the heat of an impress, the number of sick, in Haslar hospital near Gosport, amounted at one time, (in the month of March) to 1418. It has been observed by well-informed authors on maritime customs and policy, that the ill consequences of a protracted impress have destroyed more British seamen than the first two or three years hostilities of a foreign war; and a very intelligent writer, (I think it is Doctor Lynd) calls the guardship stationed at the Nore, for the reception of impressed men, a seminary of contagion to the whole fleet, by persons from infectious prisons, and covered with cutaneous or putrid eruptions.

In 1770, and beginning of the year 1771, the officer to whom I am indebted for the better part of the proposed plan, beheld ships from two to three hundred tons burthen deserted at sea, left only to a master, and perhaps three or four boys; cargoes exposed to perish; the lives on board sported with, and property of owners and insurers in a most perilous state. Near 400 vessels were at that period of time, during a warm impress, in this condition on the open ocean: neither yards lowered, nor topmasts struck; most of them deeply laden, and without strength sufficient to purchase or weigh an anchor, owing to a general apprehension among the sailors of being

being compelled to go immediately on a foreign voyage, without reasonable expectation of ever being released, and feeling for that pain and anxiety which they were sensible their wives and families must labour under, on their account.

There has frequently been given, by the owners of ships thus abandoned on the waves, so large a sum as from 25 to 30 guineas, to superannuated sea-faring men, to bring the vessel into a place of safety, while the project of its voyage has been altogether demolished. A very serious danger likewise arises to the public, when seamen, belonging to ships coming home from the Levant, and places accustomed to the plague, break quarantine, and run the risk of a civil law sentence, rather than be pressed to serve an unlimited time, to be sent abroad again without seeing their home, or visiting their relations, and allowed no prospect of some final period to their servitude: never, Sir, to rest unmolested on their native soil. An heavy tax usually falls on commerce in general, while an impress rages; partly from the exorbitant pay extorted by sailors, and partly by the detention of ships, for want of men. Consider too the numerous poor belonging to sea-faring persons, with which the parishes throughout this kingdom are burthened, during press warrants, or in consequence of an unlimited term of service. Certain I am, that no compulsory propositions, no encouragement nor lure whatever to seamen, no increase of bounty-money will avail so as to supply the numbers necessary for war, without a limitation of the servitude required.

Unpopular methods, are ever abundantly more tedious and more expensive, than those where the people concur with government; and as with men serving voluntarily, contentment is a natural consequence, so from that contentment must arise a zeal and alacrity, which will render fifty men capable of performing more real service than seventy could accomplish, whose actuating principles are directly repugnant to such spirit and energy. While an impress is in force, besides the high amount of bounties, you are at the charge of employing from four to five thousand seamen on that duty, which together with the guardships for receiving pressed men, the tenders, and various out-goings, amounts to such a charge, that at a very moderate computation, every impressed man actually retained for service, costs the nation thirty pounds sterling, besides near as many seamen as are employed in the impress, rendered of little use on the seas, from the necessity there is of putting several of those who can be trusted, into

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guardships,

guardships, for security, and sending others on board merchant-vessels, in lieu of impressed men.

The impress, we know, fails us much in point of number as well as of expedition. The French, by means of a marine register, fit out their ships of war, to a certain degree of strength, perhaps near 40 sail of the line, far more expeditiously than we can : this has been proved at the commencement of former wars ; and hence you must have been totally destroyed in the East-Indies, early in the war, which began in 1755, were it not for the extraordinary skill and exertion of your British seamen, and the prowess of Sir George Pocock, who repeatedly engaged the enemy, with a force much inferior to theirs. When an alarm of war was sounded throughout Great Britain and Ireland in 1770, press-warrants were issued and continued in execution five months : you then swept the refuse of gaols, and the outcasts of almost every town and hamlet, yet you scarce increased your mariners (officers and servants exclusive, and without reckoning marines) to the additional amount of 8000. For the naval service of the current year 1777, we have voted 45,000, including 10,000 marines ; and the best parliamentary* authority that can be quoted, since the weekly accounts have been unwarrantably and unprecedently denied to this House, gave us to hope, nay, to rest assured, that the whole number voted, would be raised by virtue of these press-warrants ; adding, that 40 sail of the line were to be ready for sea, and completely manned, before the end of February. Sir, those 40 sail of the line must require above 24,000 men. We are now in the month of March---press-warrants in force between four and five months---we have about 14,000 men in Great-Britain and upon home service---possibly as many in North America, and 4700 employed in the Mediterranean and East or West-Indies ; in all, from 32,000 to 33,000 men, of which near 10,000 are marines, and more than 7000 officers or servants :---of the remaining 16,000, we may allow one-third or upwards ; say 5340 to be complete able seamen, and scarce 2400 of those are in Great-Britain ; the remainder of the ship's complements are ordinary seamen or landmen---that is, in Great-Britain at this day, between 7000 and 8000 sailors of the royal navy---officers of all ranks, servants, &c. and
marine-

* Vide Lords debates of this session, 31st October 1776. Speeches of the Earls of Sandwich and Bristol,

marine-foldiers exclusive. Such is the fact as to the present state of your fleet; and it would better become the wisdom of Parliament to remedy the deficiency, than vainly to endeavour to conceal it from the penetrating observance of the Bourbon courts, and from their agents or emissaries. I do admit that you have a goodly show of pendants and streamers waving at Spithead; but, so far are they from being formidable, as their appearance bespeaks, your ships hardly ride secure against the equinoctial gales of the present season; much less are they in any condition to put to sea, and bid defiance to an enemy: they may serve for a May-day pageant, or a pantomime, regatta-like parade, during the serene of the approaching summer. I expect to be told, with an air of triumph, that your guardships have many supernumeraries, which, in the usual acceptation of the term, should mean a number of men over and above the ship's proper complement; but this is a mere subterfuge, with many other instances of a like nature, where art is adopted to mislead the legislature, instead of integrity and candor to inform. We hear of supernumeraries, when the men of war which bear them by order, actually want some hundreds of that complement of seamen, which would be necessary for action. Of the long list of ships of the line commissioned, in addition to your former peace-establishment, is there one manned? Even the *Monarch*, that crack-ship of the whole armament, which was so boasted of, as being the most forward of your supposed fleet of observation, how was she fitted at Portsmouth? Chiefly by those riggers, whom the zeal and activity of the commander induced him to employ, out of dock hours, at his own private charge, to equip her for a Spithead voyage. And how was she got thither, when ready? By the seamen from other ships; which seamen she was obliged to detain, till she was safely moored;---the rest of your new fleet repaired to Spithead, in much the same, or worse condition: I believe the *St. Alban's*, of 64 guns, was the last of them; she sailed from Portsmouth harbour, Feb. 28, and mustered about 177, including officers, servants, boys, and raggamuffins: for, out of that number, she had only 24 or 25 able seamen: yet, Sir, if this want of men were to be supplied by the assiduity or private munificence of the captain who commands her, sure I am, from the general character he bears, there could be no grounds for so disadvantageous an allegation as I am now stating. Numbers alone, whatsoever the levies may prove, seem the primary object with the admiralty, and regulating-captains;

captains; that an ostentatious account may appear upon paper, and a plausible one be held forth to Parliament, and to the nation; yet, when these kidnapped and bludgeoned recruits are received on board his Majesty's ships, and found not to answer any good purpose, they are quickly dispatched, as sick, to the hospital, where they are, from time to time, examined by certain commanders of the royal navy, who are directed by the admiral at the department, to discharge all such men as may be found unserviceable. A friend of mine was lately witness to seventy of these poor wretches being turned adrift (as sailors call it) in one morning. But, Sir, the custom of manning your navy, by impressing, can assume no better argument in its justification than state necessity; a tyrant plea, which has done such frequent---such unmeasurable mischiefs in the best constituted governments upon earth. Even that plea, weak as it is, with so arbitrary---so savage an application, could only assume the colour of reason, till some more eligible and effectual expedient were discovered.

I presume, Sir, I shall not hear repeated, within these walls, a false and injurious idea, sometimes ignorantly advanced without doors, that compulsion alone can insure the public duties of a seaman. The bill I am to move leave to bring in, will afford a competent remedy; it is founded on principles strictly just and constitutional; replete with honour and œconomy to the public, and according to the present establishment of your fleet, will save the nation a very considerable sum annually, as I shall undertake to prove at a proper season, for investigating this point. The bill is advantageous to the masters and owners of merchant-ships, as well as to all persons whatever, concerned in commerce; it is highly beneficial to the sailor, by augmenting his wages, limiting his time of service, and providing for him under the infirmities of age. Your seamen will henceforward, if this bill should be modelled into an act, be plenty in number, more healthful and vigorous, better qualified in their profession, rendered comfortable and content; and that valuable body of subjects, to whose unparalleled address and exploits on the guardian element of your empire, the whole British community owe freedom, opulence, and martial renown, be no longer the only slaves under the sanction or connivance of law, at least on this side of the Atlantic.

The principles and provisions on which the bill is founded, have been thoroughly canvassed and approved of, by the most
respectable

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

respectable professional gentlemen---many merchants, proprietors of trading and coasting vessels, and private mariners; which will be made evident by the original letters and testimonials I have in my hand; and some of which I shall, ere I sit down, take the liberty of reading to the House. With respect to the inventing and arranging this plan, it is chiefly the production of a most ingenious sea officer, who has had the experience of near 28 years, either in the royal navy or merchants employ;---a love of his profession, of his country, and some heart-felt sensibility, for the sufferings of his fellow-subjects, were the motives which first induced him (near seven years ago) to the pursuit of so great and desirable an object. The considerable space of time during which he was heretofore employed to raise men for the navy, made him an eye-witness to those scenes of general calamity, and of private wrong and hardship which shocked his nature; he therefore has sedulously devoted his talents, ever since the year 1770, to prepare and accomplish this public-spirited task: his constitution and his circumstances have been much impaired by the journies he has made to several ports in this kingdom, with a view to ascertain the interests and opinions of navy people universally; besides the cost of a voluminous correspondence by letter, on the subject; and, Sir, whatever may be the fate of this bill, sufficient praise can scarce be given to his zeal, and useful tables of calculation, or to the diffidence, patience, and persevering temper of mind, with which he has (under much discouragement) submitted to various strictures and additions to his work, and by which he has profited, so as to bring it to a perfection beyond his most sanguine hopes, when he first began the business; yet, however confident he, or I, may feel ourselves, from the encomiums that have been bestowed upon it, in its present improved state, by the most intelligent authorities, we are still aware, that some particular articles contained in this bill may, in the penetration of Parliament, be found to want amendment, on a close discussion, when it comes before a committee of the House: presuming only on the propriety and urgent expediency of its principles and general designs, we shall chearfully submit its minuter form and correction to the judgment of the legislature; but however, Sir, when, we are to debate it clause after clause, I have the vanity to flatter myself, from the mature consideration that has been given to every material part, I shall be able to obviate many an apparent obstacle, which naturally may arise to very discerning understandings,

at

at first sight. Reason, justice, the good of the nation, the voice and wishes of all descriptions of persons throughout these kingdoms, plead loudly in favour of such a bill; and, I hope no partial enmity or jealousy, no party spleen, no official recission or diminution of perquisites at any board, * will raise up enemies for its destruction. I believe there is not an independent gentleman here, but who feels a strong repugnance in his breast and conscience, to the iniquitous unconstitutional mode of pressing, now in use, and perceives the immediate jeopardy in which your inferior manufacturers, artificers, and husbandmen, stand in every part of the realm. These considerations, I trust, Sir, will tend to accelerate a remedy. At present there will be no occasion for me to enter further on the principles of the bill at large, nor its constituent sections, than to produce proofs of the very favourable opinions by which it is upheld without these doors, by the most eminent commercial and professional characters, and, to evince the sense which the common sailors, as well in his Majesty's fleet, as in the merchants service, have of its utility and salutary operations, if carried into a law. When I consider, Sir, the great loss we have of late unhappily sustained of our most flourishing marine nurseries---of that continual influx of seamen, from the population and extensive commerce of the North American colonies; when I consider too, this same important addition to our former power, thrown henceforward into the adverse scale, of whatever potentate shall (justly or unjustly) first wage war against us, I cannot but be convinced that our salvation, as a people, depends upon some speedy, unessayed, and effectual method of expediting our naval equipments, and rendering them truly formidable, by giving due encouragement to able marines, and inducing the lower orders of the commonalty, to train up their children in a profession which constitutes the only natural, the only strong bulwark of defence to our liberties, our wealth, and our glory.

After Mr. Luttrell had delivered his sentiments as above, he read the following professional and commercial testimonials, in favour of Mr. Tomlinson's plan, the great outlines of which, are the foundation of Mr. Luttrell's bill. The first paper produced was an extract of a letter to Lieutenant Tomlinson.

* The perquisites to the board of admiralty, from protections during an impress, amount to about 14,000l. per annum.

Tomlinson, from an officer, who, (as Mr. Luttrell stated it) not only holds a distinguished professional rank in the royal navy, but is greatly respected for his literary reputation and abilities [Capt. Edw--d Th--pf-n]: "I shall detain you no further than to assure you, that my first pride is the public good. I confess I like your plan better than any other, even than my own, for I have wrote much on the subject."

The next testimonial was from a very experienced navy captain, who some time since had the command of a ship of 74 guns, at Portsmouth [Capt. H----l;] he writes to Mr. Tomlinson, in the following terms: "I have not lost sight of your laborious work, but frequently discourse on the subject, with those that may be of use to you; and we agreed, that administration would be driven to the necessity of adopting your plan, much sooner than you may perhaps imagine; for the great difficulty of getting seamen, to embark with us at present, too plainly shews the nakedness of the land, as well as the nakedness of all arguments used to prevent this country benefiting by your great and good work. The times at present appear to me so wild, it will be absolutely necessary to call upon you. The nobleman, [Lord Sandwich] may register, review, and muster the seamen, if he pleases, when all the world is asleep; but now I am sure he will review a choice of difficulties in manning the fleet, by the usual mode."

Mr. Luttrell then said he would take the liberty of mentioning what was written to Mr. Tomlinson, respecting the principles of his plan, by a flag-officer of the most exalted naval character, now employed on a very important command abroad [Lord Howe]; and as it shews the humanity and benevolence of that noble Lord's heart, to be equal to the intrepidity of it, he conceived that the availing himself of so favourable an authority, during his absence, could not possibly give offence: "It was my ignorance of your address, that made me thus late in acknowledging the receipt of your favour of the 30th past, enclosed with your ingenious plan, for manning of the navy in time of war, without recourse to the usual method of impressing; ever no less painful to the officer executing the injunction, than severe upon the unfortunate sailor, who is to be forced into the service." It would be needless (Mr. Luttrell added) to detain the House with a further correspondence of this kind; though he had several more letters in his hand, couched in the strongest terms of approbation on Mr. Tomlinson's undertaking, from many other experienced officers, particularly one from a captain in his

Majesty's navy, (now in commission), who having seen a great variety of service in the navy, and many years commanded merchant ships, had often declared it his fixed opinion, that it would be impracticable to man the fleet, without an impress; but upon reading Lieutenant Tomlinson's propositions, gave up that opinion, and acknowledged that it would be both practicable and easy, and must prove replete with advantages, as well to the royal navy, as to the merchants service. The following are the commercial testimonials.

Mr. Richard Maitland, lately a very considerable merchant in London, gave his opinion to a noble Lord, [Earl of Dartmouth, when first Lord of trade and plantations] on the said plan, in the following words: "I cannot find out any objection which the merchants can possibly have to an act of parliament being founded on the principles of Lieut. Tomlinson's plan; for, in my opinion, it is calculated to promote the interests of trade and commerce, so very far beyond any thing of the kind, which I ever saw or heard of (though I have been consulted upon many schemes, written with a view to the same end) that I suppose the merchantile people in general, would be much favoured by such an act being passed. I acknowledge myself to be pretty well acquainted with the outlines of the naval service, therefore several objections arose to me in the course of reading it; but by the answers to the objections stated in that plan, all my objections were fully and satisfactorily answered in every respect, not superficially, but solidly and minutely. Finally, the distresses which Mr. Tomlinson has described trade and shipping to labour under, in times of impressing, are not aggravated, but strictly true." Several intelligent persons, well acquainted with the coal trade, concerned in shipping, and many years at sea, as masters and owners of ships, belonging to Sunderland and Shields, wrote Mr. Tomlinson the following letters:

1st Letter,---"I have taken all possible pains to get your plans dispersed from one to another, as fast as they could read them; and have the pleasure to acquaint you, that they meet with general approbation."

2d Letter,---"When I got home I made your plan for manning of the navy, as public as possible, at Shields and in its neighbourhood, and very opportunely received the additional copies you sent me; and before I sailed again I had the satisfaction of knowing that they had been read by almost all the owners and masters of ships, who are supposed capable of forming a proper judgment thereon, and have the pleasure

to assure you, that your plan meets with general approbation at Shields."

The three following letters are from a gentleman of the committee of trade, at Sunderland, who has had much experience at sea.

1st Letter---"I laid your improved plan before a very respectable meeting, at our committee-room, about a week since, when it met with the approbation of all present. In the number of these was C. B. who told me he thought the plan, since the alterations, so perfect, that he would not only sign it himself, but use every means in his power to promote its success. He has since informed me, that he spoke with ----- (our high sheriff) on the subject, who so highly approved your plan, that he promised to write in its favour to several members in parliament, as our county and city members, and to Sir W. M. &c. I hope to meet with the concurrence of most of our magistrates; and the little influence I have, shall be exerted in favour of a plan, as worthy of public encouragement and patronage, as it is promotive of public good."

2d Letter---"Since my last, the sailors were desired to attend at the Long Room in this town (Sunderland;) a great number accordingly came, when your plan was proposed to them. They seemed very sensible of the many advantages which would accrue to them, should it be carried into execution, and several warmly expressed their approbation of it, but were unwilling to sign their names, lest some secret design should be in agitation against them; and being apprehensive, from its being proposed to them, at the present juncture, that it is only a temporary expedient, to man the ships going to America."

3d Letter---"I have sent your paper fully signed, by the ship-owners, &c. of this place [Sunderland]: your plan is also universally approved of at Shields."

The following is a copy of what was signed at Sunderland, by 163 of the most intelligent persons in that town:---"We whose names are hereunto subscribed, who are at present, or have been, many years, owners and masters of ships in the coal trade, and in various other trades, having read and considered a plan for manning of the royal navy, in case of emergency, without having recourse to the usual mode of impressing the seamen, by Lieutenant Tomlinson: we are of opinion, that the said plan is calculated to answer the interests of trade in general, and of the coal-trade in particular, so essentially,
C 2 that

that it has our sincere good wishes for its success in Parliament ; and we do suppose, from our own experience, that it offers such encouragement for seamen, as will induce them to serve in his Majesty's navy voluntarily, and with chearfulness and alacrity, when the safety of the kingdom, or the honour of the crown shall require their services. And in the fullest confidence of the great utility of the said plan, we have hereunto set our hands under a common seal, this 14th day of January, 1776."

A writing exactly similar to the above, has been signed by near 100 owners and masters of ships, belonging to Shields and Newcastle, besides the above number of 163 belonging to Sunderland. A gentleman of Newcastle, who has lately written an ingenious commercial essay, says, "A nation possessed of numerous seamen, one would suppose, could seldom be in want of them to man its navy. Yet we find, that in England, we are generally obliged to have recourse to the arbitrary and expensive method of impressing. The chief probable causes, why men do not enter, are the uncertainty when, if ever, they may be discharged ; and the knowledge of the great increase of wages in the merchant service, always consequent on the breaking out of a press, and during the want of men for the navy. These causes Lieutenant Tomlinson, in his excellent plan (which it is supposed will shortly come under the consideration of the legislature) has greatly obviated."

A worthy alderman of Liverpool, who bears the character in that borough, of being the principal promoter of all the late improvements in the navigation there, after deliberately considering Mr. Tomlinson's original plan, wrote to him as follows : "I have heard and read many schemes to prevent impressing, and I acknowledge your scheme to strike the nearest to the mark, of any thing I ever met with, especially that main inducement, of seamen not being liable to serve again, after three years service ; this I communicated to a Sunderland seaman, who is a harpooner in a Greenland ship, belonging to me, when he bluntly answered : "Master, if seamen were to be set at liberty, after serving three years, the navy would never want men." The alderman after that says, "I had so great an opportunity of seeing the dismal effects of impressing at this port, during the time of eight regulating captains, that I am assured the impressed men here, who were delivered to the guardships, lay in forty pounds a man, great numbers making their escape, even whole tenders crews ; and many

many merchants vessels, with their cargoes, were lost, by the seamen quitting their vessels. My spirits sink at the thoughts of it, and no person can more ardently wish for a scheme to be found to prevent the calamities which attend impressing; and though (speaking only for myself,) I would rather have trade suffer for a time, than government should be in danger, through want of seamen; yet every thing in reason, should give way to prevent the calamities above described."

And in justice to the said alderman's attention, to perfect a scheme of this sort, he made seven objections to certain clauses in Mr. Tomlinson's first plan, and nearly the same having been made also, from some other sea-ports, they were all obviated in a revised edition; therefore Mr. Luttrell did not mention those objections. Mr. Luttrell then acquainted the House, that as the authenticity of so material a parchment as he would next produce, was necessary to be established on the best grounds, he had desired a person to attend, who, from his own knowledge, would confirm the voluntary and uninfluenced motives, which occasioned the signature of no less than 513 seamen, at one house, in favour of the principles whereon the bill is founded.

He properly observed, that names were not obtained to the same parchment, in a manner usual with ministerial addresses; these men having their own happiness and advantages immediately at stake, would not easily be brought to sign any thing repugnant to those objects.

Mr. Hance Newsam, the witness at the door, and whose character was so well established, by a most respectable justice of the peace, in the neighbourhood, (whose letters Mr. Luttrell produced,) would convince Parliament, that these seamen had not been wrought upon, by money, liquor, or any undue influence, but from their own feelings, and a real sense of what tended to their own interest, as well as that of their country. And the said evidence could farther prove, that many thousand more seamen would have signed, but from an apprehension that the bill would miscarry, and that then their signatures might ensnare them to serve under the present coercion and hardships.

Another important fact, that witness would likewise, have established, that, there are some thousands of seamen, in the interior parts of the northern counties, who would most cheerfully, and instantly, have entered upon the conditions of the plan on which the bill is founded. Mr. Luttrell was likewise inclined to call witnesses to the bar of the House, who could

could have spoken to the following fact, which must have somewhat disconcerted those members, who confidently assured Parliament, that seamen were at liberty to chuse their own ships, and had little reason to complain of their servitude.

Several of the crew of the Glasgow man of war, after having been five years in America, and stood an engagement with *commodore* Hopkins, which was here dilated into a signal triumph, notwithstanding their dutiful petition to return in the same ship, and under those officers to whom they were attached by their common dangers and victories, or else to be allowed to enter on board some one of the ships (not half manned) in Plymouth harbour, and destined for a foreign station, were cruelly forced, without once setting foot on shore, to return again across the Atlantic, in a foundering transport, the most ignominious service imaginable, to seamen of their description, with unknown officers, double duty, and a prospect of American captivity. The company of another man of war, which a few months since returned from a foreign voyage, and was dismantled at Deptford, after being abroad five years, only solicited two years pay, and a month's leave, to visit their friends after so long an absence; and, by way of assurance to the admiralty, that they would return to whatever ship they should be ordered, after the expiration of that month, they would leave three years pay in the hands of government; but, astonishing cruelty! they were denied this reasonable, this needful request, and a tender was sent alongside the ship, when they were all taken out of her, and put on board the Prince George of ninety guns, to take the chance of such service as she might be ordered upon. However, the ministerial side of the House, now being extremely clamorous for the question, and the speaker seeming to wave the necessity of calling in such evidence to the bar, Mr. Luttrell concluded with the following motion, that "Leave be given to bring in a bill for the more easy and effectual manning of the royal navy, in times of war, and for giving encouragement to seamen and seafaring persons, to enter voluntarily into his Majesty's service, &c. &c."

Sir Edward
Aftley.

Sir Edward Aftley seconded the motion, and pointed out the cruelty of impressing seamen, from their wives and families, and after long voyages made to the West Indies. He said, it was a most cruel, oppressive, and barbarous practice; and if at all legal, could be justified only on the ground of necessity. That it was a duty incumbent on the legislature, to devise

devise some means to render such a custom unnecessary. He called on every side of the House for their assistance, and hoped, that all party or personal distinctions would, in the present instance, give way to what should be the ruling principle in that House, the public good. Was the present mode of impressing oppressive? Did it fall short of the exigences of the state? Was it productive of private ill, and public mischief? If so, then how was it possible that a second opinion could prevail within those walls? The principle on which the motion was taken up, was clearly incontrovertible; the means of redress remained only to be considered. Such being the grounds of the present motion, he hoped every gentleman who had turned his thoughts to the subject, would deliver his sentiments freely; and that, from the whole, something would be wrought up, that might be the means of putting a stop to the evils daily felt by the most meritorious body of men in this country, and of removing those well-founded terrors, which hang suspended over the head of every man in the kingdom, who ever had the misfortune to have been at sea. The present plan, was the ingenious invention of a Lieutenant Tomlinson. It might be capable of great improvement. The House might think proper to reject or adopt in part, or the whole. They were not previously bound to adhere to any particular mode of remedying the grievance; to remove it, was their sole object; the manner of doing it, was of no consequence.

Mr. *Buller* replied to the facts stated by Mr. *Luttrell*, Mr. *Buller* contradicted many of them, and controverted the greater part of the deductions drawn from them. Mr. *Luttrell* having asked, if any one ship of war, fitted out since the press-warrants were issued, had its full complement of men on board? Mr. *Buller* replied in the affirmative, and asserted generally, that by the latest accounts, every ship commissioned since the impress had their complements nearly full.

Mr. *Luttrell* returned to his first assertion, and said he was Mr. *Luttrell* ready to give up the point, if Mr. *Buller*, or any other commissioner at that board, would rise and specify a single ship which had, by the last returns, received at the admiralty board, its full complement, if commissioned since the press-warrants were issued. He repeated the most material articles, respecting the deficiencies on board the royal fleet, and urged the Lords of the admiralty, to decide the point, by producing the last weekly account, which never, till the present naval-administration, were denied to Parliament, upon a motion from either side of the House.

Sir

Sir *Hugh*
Palliser.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* declined giving a specific answer touching the full complements of the ships; but affirmed, that the whole fleet now fitting out and preparing for sea, would be completely manned, in a very short time, and much sooner than any naval force that could be sent out by France or Spain, and in every respect superior in strength to any force it was possible for either or both of those powers, by their utmost exertions, to fit out or equip.

Sir *George*
Yonge.

Sir *George Yonge* supported the motion, on the grounds of expedience, and the cruelty, terrors and hardships the British seamen were exposed to, while they were subject to be dragged from their wives, children, and dearest domestic connections; said that the *onus* would lay on young single men, who would be encouraged to enter voluntarily, on having a prospect of being provided for in the latter part of their days.

Governor
Johnstone.

Governor *Johnstone* spoke, as a professional man. He declared his dislike, nay, his abhorrence, of the present mode of manning the navy, by issuing press-warrants. He observed besides, that though no motive of humanity were to operate on the House, the very tedious and ineffective manner the pressing service was carried on, was a sufficient reason with him, to see and discover if any other mode, more expeditious and efficacious, could be devised. He would support the motion, because it was apparently well intended. It was no partial scheme which was offered to be adopted, or rejected, *in toto*. No member in the House was bound to abide by it. On the contrary, it was the duty of every member, to do all in his power, in this stage, to throw out his sentiments on the subject, in order to enable the honourable gentleman, to whom the public stood so highly indebted for even the attempt, to render the bill as complete and unobjectionable as possible, on its first introduction into the House. He professed his total ignorance of the plan, or what were the intended objects of the bill, farther than the terms of the motion conveyed; but he wished, nevertheless, that the House should be in possession of it, as the first step to a reformation of an abuse of legal power, or a violation of the laws (take the custom of pressing in either sense) so loudly complained of.

Ld. *Mul-*
grave.

Lord *Mulgrave* agreed in the justice of the remark quoted by Mr. Luttrell, from Montesquieu, that when any law is proposed, which indicates more good than evil to a state, such law ought to be received. But he said it was no less true, that institutions, which had been proved useful, by long invariable practice, should not be lightly changed, upon the suggestion

gestion of evils which either did not exist, or bore a very small proportion to the advantages arising from the measures that produced them. This, he said, was the case of pressing, which had always been practised in this country, in times of war, or appearance of war, that the flourishing state of our commerce, and the superiority which our navy had always maintained, were the best proofs of the advantages of that mode of manning. He said the House should, therefore, be very careful how they admitted any plan, which might express to the public their disapprobation of the present method, unless they were convinced that one, attended with more advantages, and less inconveniences, could be adopted, as they would otherwise risk no less than the destruction of our commerce, and annihilating the navy.

He said however, that if the present method were unconstitutional, it would be a strong motive with him, for considering any plan however unpromising, which might give any hopes of removing an objection so alarming in a free country; or, if this matter had never been discussed before, it might be a reason for examining with great attention, any plausible plan; but as neither of these seemed to be the case of the present motion, he must oppose it.

He said, he never could consider a measure as unconstitutional, which originated from one of the fundamental principles of the constitution of every free and warlike people, *That it is the duty of every individual, to defend his country when attacked, and to protect its liberties, and assert its honour.* By the constitution of this country antiently, many estates were held by the tenure of serving the king in war, and that, in case of invasion, every body was compelled to bear arms; the seamen were always obliged to defend the commerce, and protect the coasts; that by the militia laws, men were compelled to serve for three years, at much less than they could earn in their own occupations, that the great disproportion between the number of inhabitants and of militia men necessary, and the certainty of finding those men, made a limited service and the taking by lot practicable, but that the men on whom the lot fell, were absolutely pressed, and all the hardships so emphatically described, but improperly attributed to seamen, might be pleaded in their favour, who were taken from their families, and deprived of the means of supporting them. That all what had been said of the hardships landmen had been exposed to, had nothing to do with the press-warrants, which only authorized the impressing seamen, and that if any abuse

had been made of them, the persons were amenable to justice, and the parties injured had their legal remedy. But he was happy to find, that no such abuse, by sea officers, had been stated by Mr. Luttrell; the story of the Leicester men, on which so much stress was laid, had nothing to do with either navy officers or press gangs, but was a transaction of country justices and a militia serjeant, under one of the vagrant acts.

He said that no objects had been more fully considered, or more wisely provided for, than the encouragement of seamen, and the manning of the navy; more than twenty different acts, to answer those purposes, having passed from the time of the register act in 1696, to the present time.

He then stated many advantages provided by those acts. He added, that he could not help observing, that as often as this matter had come under the consideration of Parliament, a doubt had never been expressed of the necessity, expediency, and propriety of pressing; but on the contrary, during the Whig ministry of Queen Anne's reign, a period when the constitution was as well understood, and as strictly adhered to, as at any time in the annals of this country. A committee appointed in the year 1705, to consider of the most effectual methods for manning the navy, had come to several resolutions to enforce pressing, authorizing justices of the peace, and others, to search for seamen, lying concealed, offering rewards for discovering them, and inflicting penalties on such as concealed them. The present scheme, he said, had not even the claim of novelty to their attention, as one similar to it, but not so exceptionable, had been proposed in a pamphlet published by one Hodges, in King William's reign, the year before the register act, when this subject was under the consideration of the legislature. He said, that if the cause of pressing was considered, it would immediately be seen, how improbable, if not impossible, it must be, to man the navy, in war, by any other means. That the present proposal seemed to proceed upon an idea, of the King's service being so disagreeable to the seamen, as to make some new encouragement necessary, to induce them to enter into it; but the contrary is notoriously the fact; as it is known, that upon the ordinary peace establishment, the navy is always manned by volunteers; for although the nominal pay, on board the fleet, is less than in merchantmen, yet not being subject to the deductions and impositions too often met with in them; from the employment being constant, the work lighter, the provisions better, together with the prospect of preferment to the meritorious,

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

meritorious, and the certainty of provision for those who were disabled, by accident or infirmity, the seamen prefer the navy to merchantmen. He said it was not difficult to account for the change of sentiments in war, every body knows the effect of a demand for labourers, in every branch, on the price of labour, this was sensibly felt on an armament; the merchants were obliged to give greater wages, to induce men to quit other ways of life, and under these circumstances, it was not to be expected, that any thing but compulsion, would bring seamen, at the usual wages, into the navy. The fate of the register act (which after a trial of fifteen years, at above 500,000*l.* expence, was repealed, as having produced no good effects, but occasioned much charge, vexation, and trouble) proved how ineffectual prospects of future advantage were, when put into the scale, against the temptation of a great present increase of wages.

The expedients proposed by this plan, would be found either impracticable, inconvenient to the state, or injurious to the seamen. A limitation of the time of service in war, without entering into arguments of the inexpediency and impracticability of discharging disciplined men, to receive others in their room, at the moment of going upon service, or in distant countries, would be found impossible, when it was considered, that the whole stock of seamen, in the merchant service, in peace, did not exceed 60,000, and that the number employed as such, in a war, in the navy alone, amounted to 80,000: that it required no less than the enormous wages given by the merchants, in war, to tempt foreign seamen and natives, from other occupations, to go in their ships, aided by the many wise regulations and encouragements provided by the legislature, to supply that stock, without affording enough for a rotation; that this country was not in a situation to make such an increase upon the pay in the navy, and Mr. Tomlinson seemed to be aware of that, and proposed a limitation of the pay in merchantmen, which so far from tending to man the navy, would cut off the source from which it was supplied, and instead of benefiting, would materially injure the seamen; at present, those men who were pressed at first, were no worse off, in point of pay, than if no press had taken place, (to which the rise of wages must be attributed) and every man who escaped the press, was benefited by the advance of wages, in proportion to the length of time he escaped: that the power of pressing was not open to the temptation of abuse, as those only who ought to be the objects of the press,

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were

were those whom the officers would wish to take. It was not as had been represented with so much eloquence, "To drag the unoffending subject, from his house and settled means of livelihood, to adopt a new way of life, for which his limbs and faculties are the worst calculated and fashioned by his creator." It was not the weak, timid, infirm landman, but the active, healthy, brave and practised seaman that was to be taken; and though it might be natural enough for such men to prefer enormous gain, to the service of their country, he could not think them too hardly used, if they were compelled to defend that commerce, when attacked, to which, in times of security, they owed their support, to assert the honour of their country, and share the spoils of her enemies, and to vindicate their right, by their own actions, to the name of an English seaman, which carried with it respect in every part of the world. He concluded by saying, the question now was, whether the House would adhere to a practice, authorised by the spirit of the constitution, and justified by the successful experience of all the wars of this country, or by adopting the motion, endanger the existence of our commercial interests and naval power.

Sir George
Savile.

Sir George Savile said, this was the first time he had ever heard it asserted, in the same debate, that neither peace nor war was a proper time for reformation. Some gentlemen said, war was not the proper time for innovation, or reformation; other gentlemen made a similar objection to a season of peace. He begged leave to retort a simile in support of his sentiments, on this species of ministerial logic. A person who had a fire engine to dispose of, offered it to his neighbour for sale, in order, as he said, to preserve his house from fire. The neighbour replied, No, I do not want it, my house is not on fire.---Anon, his house is on fire; he applies to the owner of the engine, and tells him how much he is in want of it; but is answered, that it has been long since disposed of.

Mr. Luttrell.

Mr. Luttrell rose again, in reply to Lord Mulgrave, observing that the noble Lord's ship, he made no doubt, was completely well manned, for the seamen had received very liberal bounties on board the Ardent, in addition to what was allowed by the crown; and she was perhaps the best manned among all the guardships of the former peace establishment, at the time the noble Lord was appointed to be her captain. He now presumed that the House was fully convinced, that no other ship of the line, commissioned since the press-warrants, was nearly equipped, so as to be able to venture to sea.

Right

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* said, it was the first time he ever *Rt. Hon. T. Townshend.* heard a syllable offered against the principle of such a bill ; or the present mode of pressing for the sea service defended. There had not been a great man, who directed the affairs of this country, for the last century, who did not acknowledge the necessity of framing some law, to prevent the evils proposed to be remedied, by a bill of the nature now moved for. There might have been differences in opinion as to the provisions of the bill, but never a single difference, as to the propriety of providing a certain number of seamen, within a certain period, on the probable approach of a war, or the time of being actually engaged in one.

Attorney General said, he never recollected, in his experience *Attorney General.* in Parliamentary proceedings, that a motion was made to bring in a bill, without at the same time explaining the heads and main objects of the bill to the House, in order that the House might be enabled, in the first instance, to judge of its propriety. The honourable gentleman who made the present motion, had evidently departed from that fundamental rule of Parliamentary usage ; and as he had, he should oppose the motion.

The question was put, and the House divided ; including the tellers (Mr. Luttrell ; Sir Edward Aftley ;) for the Ayes 54 ; (Mr. Buller ; Mr. Penton ; Lords of the admiralty) for the Noes 108.

A BILL, for the more easy and effectual manning of the royal navy, and for giving encouragement to seamen and seafaring persons, to enter voluntarily into his Majesty's service, &c. &c.

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS the welfare and prosperity of his Majesty's dominions, are greatly concerned in giving all due encouragement to seamen, and others, to enter voluntarily into the royal navy ; and whereas the undetermined time for which seamen and seafaring persons, are compelled to serve on board the ships of his Majesty's fleet, is an obvious discouragement to them, and a principal cause of their reluctance to the public service ; and whereas many new provisions and regulations respecting seamen and seafaring persons, are at this time highly advisable and requisite,

SECTION I.

Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted that, from and after [the passing of this act] every able seaman, who shall voluntarily offer himself, and be received, to serve on board the royal navy, in the manner,

and within the time herein-after limited and prescribed, such able seaman shall be allowed thirty shillings per month wages, of twenty-eight days, and shall not be required to serve longer than the term of three years, from his first muster, on board any one of his majesty's ships or vessels of war.

1. 1. The pay of the seamen, serving in the royal navy, has not been increased since the reign of King William the 3d.

2. The term of service not commencing until they are mustered on board, will excite the seamen to diligence in getting to the King's ports, with all dispatch.

SECTION II.

And be it also enacted, that every ordinary seaman, who shall, from and after [the passing of this act] voluntarily offer himself, and shall be received, to serve on board the royal navy, in the manner, and within the time hereafter limited and prescribed, such ordinary seaman shall be allowed twenty-four shillings per month wages, of twenty-eight days, and shall not be required to serve longer than the term of five years, from his first muster, on board any one of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war.

II. Ordinary seamen, having a part of their business to learn, it is generally agreed to be reasonable and necessary that they should serve longer than those who are adepts in their business; and as there is no place so proper for improvement, as a man of war, they would have the advantage of making themselves perfect in every part of seamanship.

SECTION III.

And for the encouragement of able-bodied landmen, be it further enacted, that, from and after [the passing of this act] every able-bodied landman, of the age of twenty-one years, or upwards, and under the age of thirty-eight years, who shall voluntarily offer himself, and be received to serve on board the royal navy, shall have twenty-two shillings per month wages, of twenty-eight days, and be required to serve only six years, from his first muster, on board any one of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war.

N. B. These three classes of able-seamen, ordinary-seamen, and landmen, are precisely and distinctly ascertained according to the present rules of the royal navy.

III. Landmen entering into the navy, at twenty-one years of age, would be free from all obligation to serve their country at twenty-seven years old, when they would be entitled to many benefits which they could not hope to obtain by staying on shore.

SECTION IV.

Provided always and be it understood that, if any seaman, after having served the full term in the royal navy, required by this act, shall be desirous to re enter for the naval service, and shall, upon his own solicitation, be received or continued on board any of his Majesty's

ty's ships or vessels of war, such re-entry shall be considered to make the said seaman liable to a further service of three years, if his said further service should, without interruption, be so long demanded, or unless the lords commissioners of the admiralty shall judge proper to discharge him sooner; but during such additional voluntary service, he shall be allowed thirty-two shillings and sixpence per month wages, (of twenty-eight days) from the time of such re-entry, to the time of his discharge, and shall be exempt from serving on juries or parish offices when on shore.

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IV. 1. Much pains have been taken, among merchants, ship owners, and seamen, as well as amongst professional gentlemen of the royal navy, to ascertain the necessary time, for each of the above three classes of people to serve, and after much consideration and argument, by far the majority of opinions have been in favour of the terms, fixed as above. Sec. 2d and 3d.

2. There can be no danger of the fleet being dismantled or distressed through the want of able seamen, at the expiration of the first three years; because if none of those entitled to their discharge, should chuse to re-enter, (which it is contrary to reason to suppose, when the extraordinary encouragements offered them by the subsequent clauses of this bill are considered;) the ordinary seamen, after three years service, must necessarily be qualified to be rated able seamen; the landmen also must become good ordinary seamen, and there must of course be a regular and continual succession of all the three classes, from volunteers, apprentices, and other common resources.

3. The author of a pamphlet, entitled, "The Rights of the Sailors vindicated," asserts, there are 120,000 seamen, and people who come under the denomination of seafaring persons, in Great Britain. Others compute them at 130,000. If so, surely there can be no doubt of the certainty of recruiting 10,000 able and ordinary seamen from that number, once in three years, even admitting so many as 10,000 should be wanted, which is highly improbable. But it is manifest from the 2d note to this section, that landmen only would suffice, to make up the complements, if seamen should be scarce; which to suppose would be the greatest absurdity, after these incentives are given to the sea profession.

4. In 1759, when our most important naval victories were gained, government voted 60,000 seamen, including about 15,000 marines, and there were near that number of

officers of various ranks, servants, &c. and about 700 men for ordnance sea service. It is highly probable that, *communibus annis* the number of 60,000 are as many as will be voted in a future foreign war, and conformable with this bill, there can very little charge attend the raising of seamen, neither will bounty-money be needful. It has been admitted by a gentleman now in high office in the naval department, that the men raised for the royal fleet, by an impress, cost government full 30l. per man, one with another, therefore, suppose 10,000 men only, when 60,000 are voted, thus supplied, in the course of the first year of the war, the charge will be 300,000l. besides the additional levies every subsequent year, to supply deficiencies, from death, desertion, &c. which cannot be estimated at fewer than 3000 men, to be raised by such means as would incur the expence of full 30l. per man, amounting to 90,000l. per annum. Suppose then, a war of five years duration, the sum total of expence from impressing will amount, as above, to 660,000l.: but the whole of the additional wages of this bill, for petty officers, able seamen, ordinary seamen, and landmen, supposing the said number of 60,000 to be employed for five years, would be only 310,000l. at the utmost, so that it is manifest, there must, in times of war, on this calculation, be a saving to the nation, of at least 300,000l. in five years. But were we narrowly to investigate the matter, the saving would be demonstrated far beyond what we here state.—Trade and commerce lose at least, one million annually in times of impressing, besides the advanced price consequent thereto, on coals and other necessary articles of life, to every consumer. There is likewise a previous and continual tax upon the individual trader, from admiralty protections.—We believe it will be admitted by the professional gentlemen in general, that a seventy-four gun ship, with a complement of 600 men, and manned conformable to this

this plan, would in the eye of every experienced captain, of his Majesty's navy, be in a more eligible condition, both as to navigating the seas, and engaging the enemy, than 650 men, according to the present mode of supplying their crews; and in case of war, we should, at the fewest assuredly, have twenty-four sail of seventy-four guns employed, which alone would make a saving of 1200 men, and that alone, at the parliamentary allowance of 4l. per man a month, is 62,400l. per annum, which, in a five year's

war, would be 312,000l. The charge to the nation in times of peace, in consequence of this bill, when 16,000 men are voted, which is the ordinary peace-establishment, could not exceed 20,000l. per annum.—It will scarcely be credited, (though an incontrovertible fact) by people who are not observant, that this nation has been burthened, and harrassed with an impress, in a greater or lesser degree, for twenty-two years, out of the last thirty-eight years.

SECTION V.

And be it further enacted that, from and after the expiration of the full term of obligatory or voluntary service or services, as aforesaid, all and every seaman or seafaring man, shall, upon requisition, agreeable to the form No. 1. in the schedule to this act, by him duly made, or signified to the captain or commander of such of his Majesty's ships or vessels, belonging to which, or of the crew of which, he may happen to be, at the expiration of his term of service become entitled to, and if in any of the ports of Great Britain or Ireland, shall receive his discharge, and be at liberty at a certain time to be determined, by the discretion of the captain or other officer, under whose command he shall then actually serve; and such time so appointed for his discharge, shall upon no account whatsoever, exceed the space of forty days, from the date of his requisition. Yet as the extraordinary emergency of the times, or some unavoidable necessity may cause it to be indispensably requisite for seamen on foreign stations to be kept a longer term of service in the royal navy, than is stipulated or proposed by this act, it shall, and may be lawful, and it is hereby declared lawful, to withhold and detain such seamen so employed, on foreign stations, beyond the space of forty days: as aforesaid, but be it understood that, such necessity shall be dispensed with, as early as possible; and every seaman shall, during such further compulsion, and no longer, be entitled to, and receive, at the rate of thirty-five shillings per month wages, of twenty-eight days.

V. The additional encouragement given to seamen re-entering, can be but a trifling expence to the nation, and may be attended

(among many other advantages) with causing merchants to bring up more seamen in their service than they would otherwise do.

SECTION VI.

And whereas, in times of war, the scarcity of midshipmen, quarter-masters, and other petty officers, renders it frequently necessary for the captains of his Majesty's ships, to promote seamen from before the mast, to those stations; therefore, as a farther encouragement to such seamen, as shall desire to re-enter, and shall be received, after the
expiration

expiration of their limited term of service in the royal navy: be it further enacted, that all captains and commanders of his Majesty's ships and vessels of war, who may have such seamen on board, as shall be found to merit promotion, do in all cases, as aforesaid, give a preference to those seamen who shall have served their limited time in the royal navy. And as an additional inducement to seamen to re-enter into the King's service, and to strive to render themselves worthy of being promoted, to the stations of petty officers, and also for the encouragement of all mates, midshipmen, and petty-officers, who may be appointed to serve on board any of his Majesty's ships of war; be it farther enacted, that from and after the passing of this act, the pay of all such mates, midshipmen, and petty officers, shall be regulated in the manner expressed by the table annexed in the schedule No. 2. whereby all their wages, below a second rate, will be considerably increased.

VI. The choice seamen have been discouraged from entering as petty officers, in small ships of war, where (they say) the wages even of a quarter-master, or gunner's mate, is but 24s. 6d. per month clear, and their duty un-

speakably harder than in a first rate, where those petty-officers have 33s. 6d. per month clear; but the encouragement given in this section, entirely removes that objection.

SECTION VII.

And for the better encouragement of married seamen, seafaring men, and landmen, to enter themselves voluntarily into his Majesty's naval service, and to prevent their wives and families from being left in distressed circumstances, or becoming burthensome to their parishes; be it further enacted, that all such married seamen, seafaring men or landmen, who shall voluntarily offer themselves, and be received to serve on board any of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war, such married seamen, seafaring men, or landmen, shall be allowed to remit to their wives or children, two months wages, at the end of every six months, as their pay becomes due, leaving only four months wages in arrears instead of six months, when twelve months wages are due, as directed by an act passed in the 31st year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the Second, which empowers seamen serving in the royal navy, to remit their wages to their wives and families, and the money shall be remitted in the manner directed by the said act. And all such married seamen, seafaring men, or landmen, who shall voluntarily enter to serve in the royal navy, as aforesaid, shall, as a further encouragement, be allowed two month's wages in advance, to be paid for the use of their wives, or children, by the collector of the customs or excise, nearest their respective places of residence, when the husband has received three musters on board any of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war, and that upon producing a certificate thereof, agreeable to the form in the schedule No. 3. together with an authenticated certificate under the hands of the minister, and one of the churchwardens or the overseers

of the poor of the parish, where he and she were married, or they [the children] were born ; testifying that she is the lawful wife, or that they are the legitimate children of the said seaman, seafaring man, or landman, and their respective wives ; and which minister, churchwarden, or overseer, are hereby required and directed, to deliver such certificate, so subscribed, without taking any fee or other reward for the same, and which certificate shall be the proper voucher for the said collector of the customs or excise, to the commissioners or treasurer of his Majesty's navy, who are hereby authorized and required, upon producing such certificate, to order and direct the payment of such wages accordingly, and any collector refusing or neglecting to pay, as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds, to any person or persons suing for the same, to be recovered by an action of debt, in any of his Majesty's courts of law.

SECTION VIII.

And whereas seamen and sea-faring persons, taking advantage of times of war, always insist upon very extravagant wages, by which the trade of this nation has laid under great difficulties, and the manning of the royal navy has been very much injured, and that such difficulties and impediments may henceforward be removed ; be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, that [from and after passing this act] no person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, shall by themselves, or by any other person or persons, directly or indirectly, by way of gift, loan, premium, deposit or any other device or contrivance whatsoever, give or pay, or agree to give or pay to any common seaman, or seafaring man, or any person employed, or to be employed as such, on board any merchant-ship or vessel ; nor shall any seaman, mariner, or seafaring man, or other person, as aforesaid, on their behalf, directly or indirectly, take or receive more wages, pay or hire, than after the rate of forty shillings per calender month, upon any voyage where seamen are employed for any specific time ; except where it is usual for seamen and sea-faring men to sail by the voyage, as in the coal and coasting-trade, which shall be regulated in manner following, to such seamen and sea-faring men as are British subjects. That is to say, no person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, as aforesaid, shall give or pay, or agree to give or pay, to any common seaman or seafaring man, more wages than three pounds for a voyage, from any port in the frith of Forth, or to or from the ports of Leith, Blythe, Hartley, Shields, Newcastle, Sunderland, Hull or Lynn, to London and back again. Nor shall any such person or persons, as aforesaid, give or pay to any seamen, or seafaring man, more than the sum of forty shillings for a voyage, to or from the ports of White-haven, to Dublin and back again, or to or from any port on the coasts of Cumberland, Lancashire, North or South Wales, and back again, or to or from Dublin and back again.

again. And all contracts, agreements, bonds, notes, writings, instruments, and securities, of what nature or kind soever, for the paying or receiving more, or greater wages, pay, or hire, than as aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, if made and entered into [from and after the passing of this act,] are hereby declared to be, and shall be absolutely void to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And if any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, shall give or pay, or agree to give or pay, to any seamen or other person, any more or greater wages or hire, than as aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, such person or persons, or bodies politic or corporate, shall forfeit the sum of fifty pounds, for every such offence committed, in violation of the true intent and meaning of this act, to be recovered by any person suing for the same, by action of debt-bill, plaint, or information, in any of his Majesty's courts of record at Westminster, or in the courts of exchequer, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland. And any master of a ship or vessel, so offending, on legal proof thereof, before any one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, shall be subject to a forfeiture of 50*l.* to be recovered as aforesaid; and each, and every seaman, or seafaring man, so offending, shall forfeit ten pounds, or suffer three month's imprisonment, upon being legally convicted of the said offence. And in order the more effectually to prevent any abuse or evasion of the foregoing provisions, be it farther enacted, that merchants, owners or masters of any ship or vessel, or other persons on their behalf, shall not, after the passing of this act, agree with, or engage any seaman, or seafaring man, to serve him or them, or any of them, at sea, by the month, voyage or otherwise, but by a written or printed agreement, specifying the wages such seaman or seafaring man is to receive; to which there shall be at least one credible witness, whose occupation and place of abode, shall be inserted in the said agreement, and that no masters or owners of any ship or vessels, shall be bound to pay, nor shall any seaman be entitled to sue for any wages earned in the merchant's service, but under such agreement. Provided always that nothing herein contained, shall extend, or be construed to extend, to such seamen, as may have actually completed the term, which they are required by this act, to serve in the royal navy, and shall produce a certificate of such service, agreeable to the form annexed in the schedule No. 4.

VIII. 1. A precedent for limiting seamen's wages, may be found in an act of Parliament, made in the 14th year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the II*d.* chap. xxxviii. sec. 4. where it is enacted, That no more

than thirty-five shillings per month, shall be given to seamen, either by individuals or bodies corporate. Were there no precedent of that kind, the propriety and the expediency of such regulation are obvious.

2. A late

2. A late author, who published a plan for preserving the maritime commerce and power of this nation in time of war, says, "That the consumers of all sorts of goods and merchandizes, throughout the kingdom, during last war, lost many millions; which,

upon due enquiry, will appear to be chiefly occasioned by the exorbitant wages paid to the seamen, &c. and the stagnation of our navigation through a scarcity of such people, and the tardy operation and returns upon commerce."

SECTION IX.

And be it further enacted, that respecting all such seamen, as may have served the full term required by this act, a certificate shall be given to each and every of them, without fee or reward, on the day of their discharge, agreeable to the form specified in the schedule to this act, No. 4. expressing the time and the names of the ships wherein they have served, as likewise a description of the person to whom such certificate is given, which shall be the protection of such seaman, from being farther required to serve in the royal navy, at all times, and in all places. Or if upon paying off any one, or more of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war, those seamen or seafaring persons, who have not served the full time required by this act, upon their being so paid off, shall also have certificates agreeable to the form No. 4. aforesaid, which shall be considered upon future occasions, as such a part of the term required by this act; and when completed by their future service in his Majesty's navy, in the manner prescribed hereby, they shall be entitled to all the benefits this act proposes, in the same degree as if they had served the whole term without intermission, which shall be certified, as aforesaid, when such service ends. And to all persons producing such certificates, provided that they answer to the age and description therein expressed, it shall be lawful for any merchant, owner or other person or persons, to give to such seamen, &c. whatsoever wages the parties shall agree upon, any thing contained in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

SECTION X.

And whereas some old seamen, through age and infirmities, may be in distress, and so unable to gain a subsistence, as to become burthensome to parishes; be it further enacted, that all able seamen who are under forty-four years of age when they enter to serve in the royal navy, shall be entitled to receive and enjoy the following pensions, at fifty years of age: and all above forty-three years old when they enter, shall receive the pensions as hereafter allotted, in four years from the day of being entitled to their *first* discharge: viz. five pounds per annum, for all above fifty years of age, who have served three years as able seamen; six pounds per annum, for all above fifty years of age, who have served four years as able seamen; seven pounds per annum, to all above fifty years of age, who have served five years as able seamen; and eight pounds per annum, to all above fifty years of age, who

who have served six years as able seamen, in any ship or vessel of war, belonging to the royal fleet; and which shall be paid to them, or their lawful attornies, even though they should be pensioners of the chest at Chatham, in two half-yearly payments, by the treasurer of his Majesty's navy for the time being, as they become due, viz. one payment on the 2d of January, and the other payment on the 1st of July, and shall be recalled on the usual recall days, once in every month. But the said attornies shall be required to produce, at the same time, a certificate signed by the minister and overseer of the poor of the parish where they reside, that such seaman is living, and such certificate shall be agreeable to the form in the schedule, No. 5. And as the vacancies fall out in the royal hospital at Greenwich, they shall be filled up with such old seamen as may be pensioners upon this establishment; and in that case, when they are so appointed, the pension given under this act shall cease, as to them, from the day of their being received into the said royal hospital at Greenwich.

X. The pensions mentioned in this section are intended for able seamen, ordinary seamen, and landmen, indiscriminately; but by way of preventing old and infirm seamen from entering into the service, merely for the sake of obtaining the pension, it is proposed, that

all above forty-three years old when they enter, shall not be entitled to the pension, until four years after the day of being entitled to their discharge, having fully completed the service hereby prescribed.

SECTION XI.

And whereas, not only the strength, but the safety of this nation, may upon some future exigency depend upon furnishing and supplying the royal navy expeditiously, with a competent number of seamen, and seafaring persons, for a general, or particular service; and whereas the great encouragements and advantages held out to them by this act, are meant to be confined to such seamen and seafaring men only, as shall enter with alacrity into the royal navy, when their services shall be required, be it enacted, that from, and after, the passing of this act, and upon commencement of, or arming for, war, it shall and may be lawful for his Majesty in council, to publish a proclamation, requiring seamen, and seafaring men, immediately to enter into the royal fleet; and with which proclamation, shall be published, as an encouragement or incentive, section xii and xiii, xxvii and xxviii of this act. And copies of the said proclamation, &c. shall be forthwith sent to the minister or church-wardens, and to the civil chief-magistrate of every city, borough, town-corporate, or district, in Great Britain, who shall cause the same to be immediately affixed against the church, or chapel door, or most conspicuous place or places, within such cities, boroughs, towns-corporate, or districts; and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, shall dispatch proper officers,

ficers, to all the cities, boroughs, and principal towns and sea-ports in Great Britain and Ireland, to receive and enter such seamen, seafaring men, or landmen, as may be fit for his Majesty's service, and shall voluntarily offer themselves to serve in the royal navy, within twenty-eight days after publishing such proclamation, in the London Gazette; all which said seamen, seafaring men, and landmen, so offering, and being received within twenty-eight days as aforesaid, shall be fully entitled to, and enjoy all and every the privileges, benefits, advantages and immunities, contained in this act, as well with respect to their limited term of service as otherwise.

XI. 1. This section offers such privileges and advantages to seamen, to encourage them to enter voluntarily into the navy, as they never yet experienced, and render government quite excusable, if they should be constrained to put section xii in execution.

2. Those regulating officers should, perhaps, be lieutenants, two at each principal port, and

one at each of the lesser ports, and wherever seamen are supposed to rendezvous; and as there ever have been two, three, or four lieutenants, at all the principal ports in Great Britain and Ireland, exclusive of the regulating captains, besides many tenders, &c. commanded by lieutenants, no expence thereon is necessary to be deducted.

SECTION XII.

And whereas, by an act of Parliament, passed so early as the second year of the reign of King Richard the Second, entitled, An act, &c. it was made lawful for all sheriffs, mayors, and bailiffs, within franchises and without, to take and detain all fugitive mariners: be it therefore enacted, that from and after the expiration of twenty-eight days, from the time of publishing the royal proclamation, as aforesaid, for manning the navy, if any seamen, or seafaring men, in contempt of such royal proclamation, shall willingly, obstinately, and voluntarily withdraw, hide, or convey themselves into secret places, or shall abscond, and not enter themselves into his Majesty's naval service, in the manner and within the time aforesaid, that is to say, within the space of twenty-eight days after publishing the aforesaid proclamation of his Majesty in council, such seamen, or seafaring men, shall be deemed, and are hereby deemed to all intents and purposes, *fugitive mariners*; and all justices of the peace, constables, and other inferior peace officers, shall, by the authority of any one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace, secure, or cause to be secured, all such seamen, and seafaring men, who shall be conveyed with due dispatch to the nearest port, where there are any of his Majesty's ships or vessels of war. And such one or more of his Majesty's justices of the peace, by virtue of whose power and authority, seamen, or seafaring persons, are so apprehended and conveyed, shall limit what rates and allowances, by the mile, or otherwise, shall be made, for conveying or maintaining such fugitive seamen, and make such other orders for the more regular proceeding therein, as they shall think proper;* and such justice

* Vide sect. xvi. cap. 5. 17th George II.

justice, or justices, shall cause the sum of forty shillings for every such seaman, or seafaring man, so apprehended, to be paid to the constable, or peace-officer, who shall apprehend him or them, by the overseer of the poor of the parish, who shall be allowed, upon settling his accounts for such parish, to draw upon the treasurer of his Majesty's navy, for the time being, for such sums as he may have advanced on the said account, which bill, or bills, shall be also endorsed by the justice, or justices, who gives the order for payment, which shall be sufficient authority for their being accepted. And the aforesaid sum of forty shillings shall be stopped out of the growing wages of the ship wherein such seaman may be ordered to serve. And be it farther enacted, that every seaman who may be abroad, or at sea, when such proclamation is published for manning of the royal navy, such seaman shall be required to repair to, and enter his name with the regulating officer, (or principal officer of his Majesty's revenue) where he may first arrive, and that within forty-eight hours after his first arrival in any port of Great Britain, whenever his Majesty's proclamation for manning of the navy shall be in force : but upon his neglecting to do so, he shall be considered as a fugitive mariner, and shall be subject to the fines and penalties accordingly. But upon his entering in the manner, and within the time aforesaid, and taking the oath specified in the schedule, No. 6, he shall be allowed ten days to obtain his wages and settle his concerns. And that no one may plead ignorance, respecting such proclamation, it shall be made known to the company of every merchant ship or vessel immediately upon her arrival, by the officers of the revenue, in those ports where there may happen to be no ship, tender, or other vessel of war belonging to his Majesty.

XII. We cannot suppose that seamen will refuse to serve in the royal fleet, upon the encouragements held out to them in the eleven preceding sections.

SECTION XIII.

And for the better discovery of such seamen, or seafaring men, who shall secrete themselves, or withhold their services, be it further enacted, that all such seafaring persons, who may be in any part of Great Britain, and who neglect to embrace the benefits and advantages held forth to seamen hereby, for more than twenty-eight days after publishing the said royal proclamation, shall be secured, and be liable to serve in his Majesty's navy, the whole war, or longer, at the discretion of the lords commissioners of the admiralty. But such seamen, or seafaring men, who may be sick, and shall signify their names and places of abode, at any time within twenty-eight days after publishing the said royal proclamation, to the nearest regulating officer, they shall be taken care of by the surgeon attending the sick-quarters at that port, until it may be proper to send them on board one of his Majesty's

jefty's ships or vessels of war. But lest the care and indulgence, hereby meant for the benefit of the seaman, should be abused by impostors, the term of his service shall not commence until his first muster on board. And every seaman, and seafaring man, who shall not voluntarily enter within the twenty-eight days, as aforesaid, (except such as may be abroad, or at sea) all such seamen, and seafaring men, liable to serve within the true meaning and limitations of this act, are hereby declared unworthy of it; therefore shall not be intitled to any of the benefits, privileges, and advantages, held forth to them in sect. vi. and sect. x. of this act; neither shall any such seamen, or seafaring men, be entitled to an exemption from serving the whole war, or such other term as the lords commissioners of the admiralty may direct; any thing herein contained, or any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

SECTION XIV.

And be it further enacted, that whenever it shall be found expedient to arm for war, every commissioned officer belonging to the royal navy, shall be allowed to visit any British ship or vessel which he may meet with at sea, and to take the names and descriptions of all seafaring persons on board such ships or vessels, with the names of the places to which they belong; and it shall be lawful for him, to tender the oath specified in the schedule, No. 6, to every person on board such ship or vessel, (except the master, mate, carpenter, and apprentices, having protections signed by the lords commissioners of the admiralty, agreeable to the form in the annexed schedule, No. 7) which upon the seamen respectively consenting to and taking, he shall permit him or them to go to that port (if in Great Britain) whereto the ship may be bound; and the said officer shall give to all and each of them, a printed letter of leave, with the figure of the seal of the navy office, testifying that they have taken the aforesaid oath, which letter such seamen shall respectively deliver upon their arrival, to the regulating officer of that port. But in order the more effectually to secure such volunteers from every temptation to desert, no master of any ship or vessel shall pay the wages due to such seamen, &c. on penalty of paying the wages over again, at the suit of any such seaman, until he has made known to the regulating officer, or to the principal officer of his Majesty's revenue, (at such port where there may happen to be no regulating officer) that such seamen have entered for his Majesty's naval service; and with his report to the revenue officer, shall also give a list of the names of the seamen so entered, with their ages and places of nativity; when such officer or officers, or either of them, shall cause the master of the said ship or vessel, to pay such seaman, seamen, or seafaring men, the wages due to them, and such ship or vessel shall not be entered inwards
at

at her delivering port, until that be fairly adjusted. And in case of the absence of the regulating officer, at any port, the principal officer of the revenue shall direct any seaman, or seamen, so entering, to repair to the nearest King's port, and shall date the commencement of their leave upon their ticket, and sign his name under it, and allow a proper number of days to go to such King's port, at the rate of twenty miles per diem. He shall also pay to such seamen, &c. their conduct money, at the rate of two-pence per mile : but where there is any regulating officer, all these, and such-like concerns, shall be transacted by the said officer, that the revenue servants may not have such business imposed upon them, except in cases of absolute necessity. But a ship or vessel bound to any foreign port, in amity with Great Britain, and having on board a regular clearance from the custom-house, at the port where she loaded, if visited by any officer, and found to have no mariners on board, but such as are actually engaged for the service she may be going upon, shall be permitted to pursue her voyage without let or molestation, upon shewing the said clearances.

SECTION XV.

And to prevent every subterfuge, whereby any seafaring person might attempt to evade the full intention of this act, no masters of vessels of a less burden than fifteen tons, King's measurement, who have not served his Majesty the full term of three years, in the capacity of able seamen, shall be protected from that duty, after the day of 177

XV. Because such small vessels are fit for enabling them to run their cargoes with nothing but way-laying large smugglers, and greater facility and less risque.

SECTION XVI.

And every person, who secretes any seafaring man upon his or her premises, after twenty-eight days from the time of issuing the said royal proclamation, shall forfeit twenty pounds for the first offence, one half to be given to the informer, the other half to the poor of the parish, or be imprisoned three months ; and for the second offence of the same nature, shall be imprisoned six months, the crime being fully proved before one of his Majesty's justices of the peace for the county, riding, or division, wherein such seaman, or seafaring man, shall have been so secreted, upon the oath of two credible witnesses. And it shall be lawful for any person to prosecute the offender, and the expences for doing so shall be levied by distress on the goods and chattels of such offender.

SECTION XVII.

And if any man deserts from the naval service of his Majesty, under any pretence whatsoever, a description of his person, age, stature, and place of nativity, &c. shall be given, by an advertisement in three different London evening newspapers, and repeated three times in

each, offering a reward of five pounds for apprehending him, and the expences of advertizing shall be paid by the treasurer of his Majesty's navy, out of the wages due to him, at the time of his deserting; and if apprehended, the reward shall be deducted from his growing wages, if those due to him before his desertion, should not be sufficient for that purpose. And besides such deductions from his wages, he shall serve any term at the discretion of the lords commissioners of the admiralty.

XVI. and XVII. We may reasonably hope that there will be no objection to those sections, as their usefulness must be obvious to the most undiscerning. But if it should be said, that making it as a part of the punishment of deserters, to prolong their service, is giving seamen an unfavourable impression of the royal navy, the answer is, that they have

their own ideas of it from early prejudice, which no arguments can remove: experience alone must convince them, and they will be convinced, if this bill should be enacted into a law, that the royal navy is the most valuable service which they can possibly enter into, or engage with.

SECTION XVIII.

But that no inconvenience (which can possibly be avoided) may attend either his Majesty's service, or seamen serving in the King's ships, employed either in the East-Indies, or upon any other foreign station, be it enacted, that whenever any captain, or commander of the royal fleet, shall have any men on board the ship he may command, who have served the full term hereby prescribed, that he shall be permitted to demand a muster of the company of any British merchant ship or vessel, which may come upon the station where he shall be appointed to serve; and upon finding any seamen who have not served his Majesty, agreeable to this act, it shall be lawful for such captain or commander to take such seamen into his Majesty's service, giving, in lieu thereof, an equal number of men who may have served the King, as required by this act, upon such masters settling and adjusting the wages of those seamen whom he discharges.

SECTION XIX.

And when the particular exigency of the service shall require, that any seaman, ordinary seaman, or landman, shall at any time be turned over from one ship to another, either in Great Britain or abroad, the captain shall give to each of them so turned over, a certificate agreeable to the form annexed, in the schedule, No. 4. signed by himself, the master, the boatswain and purser, expressive of the exact time which each of them may have served in the ship or sloop, &c. from whence they may be turned over; and the same form shall be given to each and every man who shall be discharged; distinguishing only, as the form directs: which form for certificates shall be printed, and having also a figure of the seal of the navy-office, shall be allowed to be sufficient authority for the ascertaining when any man has served his time. And every seaman requiring his
discharge,

discharge, shall produce those certificates, as vouchers, for whom it may concern. And that no ship or vessel of war belonging to his Majesty may be in want of such printed forms, the commissioner of the navy, who is also the clerk of the acts, shall supply each ship, &c. with a sufficient number for that purpose, at the discretion of the lords commissioners of the admiralty. And the manner of payment for such men, as shall be either turned over or discharged, shall be agreeable to the act of Parliament, made in the 31st year of the reign of his late Majesty, entitled, An act for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal navy, &c. But to prevent every species of deception or fraud, by any person or persons, publishing or exposing false certificates fraudulently made, (or even true ones) unlawfully obtained, whoever shall be legally convicted of so doing, shall be deemed guilty of forgery, and shall suffer the punishment of the statutes in that case made and provided.

SECTION XX.

And in order to raise a fund for supporting the expence necessarily attendant on Section X, be it enacted, that a stoppage of six-pence per calendar month shall be made out of the wages of each and every able seaman, ordinary seaman, and landman, serving in the royal navy only, over and above what is now stopped for Greenwich-hospital, chest at Chatham, &c.

SECTION XXI.

And whereas, by virtue of an act, or acts of Parliament now in force, for the encouragement of bringing up seamen in the coal and coasting-trades, &c. admiralty protections are granted for three years, on consideration of persons binding themselves apprentices to sea, who were never at sea before: but those protections having been much abused, it is hereby enacted, that before any such protections are granted in future, the lords commissioners of the admiralty shall require a certificate to be lodged at the admiralty-office, containing an affidavit, both from the master and apprentice, of the exact time the latter has been at sea, if he was ever there, and more than thirteen years of age, when his protection is applied for. The master to be required to swear, to the best of his knowledge, respecting the matter under consideration; but the apprentice shall be required to swear positively to the time he has been at sea. And that the lords commissioners of the admiralty may be able to form a just estimate of the number of seamen brought up in Great Britain; all indentures of apprentices for the sea, shall have the names of the parties, and the date, with the term of servitude, entered in that office, and a certificate of its being so entered, written on the back of the indenture, signed by three of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and with the usual signature of the secretary, or deputy secretary thereof; which shall be to all
F 2 such

such apprentices instead of the usual form of protections, during their apprenticeship, and shall be called certificates, and shall be according to the form in schedule, No. 8, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding; and the fee of the said office shall not exceed five shillings for each indenture.

SECTION XXII.

And to prevent impositions, by binding young men apprentices, who may have already been at sea, the following term of servitude shall be established in proportion to age, viz. Such as shall be bound apprentices under fourteen years of age, shall from and after the day of 1777 be protected from any obligation to serve his Majesty for seven years; of fourteen, and under fifteen, six years; of fifteen, and under sixteen, five years; of sixteen, and under seventeen, four years; of seventeen, and upwards, three years; except those who are above thirteen years old, have been at sea before the signing such indentures, and in that case, the term of their protections shall be estimated agreeably to the rules above expressed. But all persons of eighteen years old, and upwards, who have been at sea, in square-rigged vessels, more than one year, and less than two, shall only be allowed protections for two years; and all those who have been two years at sea, and less than three, who are more than eighteen years old, shall be protected only for one year: nor shall any persons receive protection (on whatsoever pretence) who have been at sea, in square-rigged vessels, three years, and who are of the full age of twenty years; which circumstances, together with the time, shall be certified upon oath, agreeably to the rules above particularized, and be subject to the penalties and punishments of the laws provided against perjury.

SECTION XXIII.

And that the lords commissioners of the admiralty may always be able to form a true estimate of the British merchant-ships employed in war-time, be it enacted, that the master, mate and carpenter, of each ship or vessel, shall be necessitated to take out a certificate from the office of admiralty, which shall contain a description of their persons and age, and be renewed only in case of the removal or death of any of the three, and the fee of office shall not exceed two shillings and sixpence for each person. But to avoid imposition, one owner, (at least) of each ship or vessel, shall make oath, that such person, or persons, is employed as master, mate, or carpenter, in the ship for which such certificates are required, which shall be agreeable to the form in the schedule No. 7. And no vessel which is of a less burden than two hundred tons, merchants measurement, shall protect a carpenter, except upon foreign voyages.

XXIII.

XXIII. Let it be observed, that the carpenters of merchant ships have never been protected, but in common with the seamen; therefore, their being continually protected

would be a considerable advantage to merchant ships, and an indulgence which that class of people never yet experienced.

SECTION XXIV.

And to the end that all seafaring persons may be informed of the great encouragement they will meet with, by voluntarily entering to serve his Majesty, and the disadvantageous consequences of refusing to enter, or of attempting to secrete themselves, when the state has occasion for their service, be it enacted, that printed extracts, containing the substance of this bill, shall be sent to the minister or church-wardens, and to the chief civil magistrate of every parish in Great Britain, who shall cause it to be read in their respective churches, on the Sunday falling nearest to Christmas, and at Easter, and at Whitsuntide; and also cause it to be fixed up in some public part of each church. And in the said extract it shall be declared, that at all times of necessity for seamen, and seafaring persons, to serve in the royal navy, notice will be given, by a proclamation in the London Gazette, and proper officers be sent to all sea-port towns to receive such seamen, &c. who shall enter their names on proper lists for that service, give them tickets of leave for the purposes expressed section XI. to pay them their conduct money, and direct them to what port they must repair, in order to serve on board such ships as the commanding officer there may appoint.

SECTION XXV.

And all apprentices, who may be seafaring persons, are hereby required to give in their names to the nearest regulating officer, within twenty-eight days after the expiration of their apprenticeship, if in Great Britain; and if otherwise, within forty-eight hours after their arrival, whenever his Majesty's proclamation for manning of the navy is in force. And if their services be required in the royal navy, they shall repair to such of the King's ports as the said regulating officer shall direct: but if any such seafaring person neglects so to do, he shall be apprehended as a fugitive mariner, and be liable to serve in the royal navy so long as the lords commissioners of the admiralty may appoint; and he shall not be entitled to any of the benefits, privileges, or advantages set forth or provided in section VI. and section X. of this act.

XXV. The same reason might be given for this section as for No. 12: but here they will have a fair warning, and no one can have

reason to say, that he has not had opportunity to offer himself as a volunteer.

SECTION XXVI.

And be it further enacted, that all such seamen, and seafaring men, in their respective classes and capacities, who shall, at the time of passing

passing this act, be actually in the pay, or retained for the service of the royal navy, or who being beyond the seas, may be received into, or kept or retained for his Majesty's naval service; all such seamen or seafaring men shall be comprehended within the full intent and meaning of this act, and every part thereof and shall likewise be entitled, to all the benefits and advantages therein mentioned, and contained.

XXVI. As many people have wished for a more equal distribution of prize-money, than the present, and may expect to see such a clause in this bill; it is thought proper to observe that

the division of prize-money is the King's prerogative, and therefore a more equal distribution than the present is not offered.

The following clause was reserved by Mr. Luttrell, in case the bill should, in the judgment or apprehension of Parliament be deemed inadmissible, unless the original powers hitherto asserted by virtue of the King's proclamation in council, for precipitantly manning the fleet, were to be still enforced upon certain great emergencies, by way of *dernier resort*, if the proposed bill should, upon trial, not be found in all possible cases, to be sufficiently expeditious and effectual in its operations."

"Provided also, and be it enacted, that nothing in this act shall extend or be construed to extend to any time of a foreign invasion of his Majesty's dominions of Great Britain or Ireland, or to any time of an actual civil rebellion, within the said dominions of Great Britain or Ireland, but that, in such critical and alarming situations threatening destruction to the present constitution of these kingdoms, all former powers before exercised by virtue of the King's prerogative, with the advice of the privy council, or under the authority of Parliament, may be then exercised in the same manner as heretofore, any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding."

SCHEDULE. No. I.

Form of requisition for seamen being discharged, whose term of service is completed.

S I R,

HAVING served the term appointed for seamen to serve in the royal navy, by an act of Parliament, made in the year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, I desire that I may be discharged as the said act directs.

I am, Sir, your humble servant

A. B.

To the captain or commander of his Majesty's ship the

SCHEDULE. No. 2.

The pay recommended for the petty officers of every denomination, agreeable to sec. No. 6.

Appellatives.

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

41

					per month.		
<i>Appellatives.</i>					£.	s.	d.
Master's mate	-	-	-	-	2	15	0
Midshipmen	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
Captain's clerks	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
Quarter masters	-	-	-	-	1	15	0
Quarter-master's mates	-	-	-	-	1	12	0
Boatswain's mates	-	-	-	-	1	16	0
Yeomen of the sheets	-	-	-	-	1	12	0
Coxswains	-	-	-	-	1	12	0
Master sail maker	-	-	-	-	1	16	0
Sail maker's mates	-	-	-	-	1	10	6
Sail maker's crew	-	-	-	-	1	11	0
Gunner's mates	-	-	-	-	1	15	0
Yeomen of the powder-room	-	-	-	-	1	12	0
Quarter-gunners of the first and second rates	-	-	-	-	1	11	0
Quarter-gunners of other rates	-	-	-	-	1	11	0
Armourers	-	-	-	-	1	11	0
Armourer's mates	-	-	-	-	1	7	0
Carpenter's mates	-	-	-	-	1	16	0
Carpenter's crew in first and second rates	-	-	-	-	1	11	0
Carpenter's crew of other rates	-	-	-	-	1	11	0
Master at arms	-	-	-	-	1	16	0
Corporals	-	-	-	-	1	12	0
Surgeon's first mates	-	-	-	-	3	5	0
Ditto second mates	-	-	-	-	2	15	0
Ditto third, fourth and fifth mates	-	-	-	-	2	5	0
Ship's stewards	-	-	-	-	1	5	0
Trumpeters	-	-	-	-	1	7	0
Able seamen	-	-	-	-	1	10	0
Ordinary seamen	-	-	-	-	1	4	0
Landmen	-	-	-	-	1	2	0
Widow's men	-	-	-	-	1	10	0
Servants	-	-	-	-	0	0	0
Officers	-	-	-	-	0	0	0

SCHEDULE. No. 3.

These are to certify the principal officers and commissioners of his Majesty's navy, that John Smith hath taken the oath required to be taken by seamen, entering to serve in the royal fleet, pursuant to an act made in the year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled, "An act for the more easy and effectual manning of the royal navy, &c." and the said John Smith hath received

ceived three musters on board of his Majesty's the this
day of 177

Given under our hands the day and date above written,

A. B. Captain.
C. D. Master.
E. F. Boatswain.
G. H. Purser.

To be by John Smith indorsed.

SCHEDULE. No. 4.

This is to certify the principal officers and commissioners of his Majesty's navy, that George Williams served on board of his Majesty's ship the Royal William, one year, three calendar months, and ten days, when he was turned over into his Majesty's ship the Barfleur, (or discharged) the 20th day of May, 1780, and this certificate is given pursuant to an act of parliament, made in the seventeenth year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled, "An act for the more easy and effectual manning of the royal navy, &c. &c."

N. B. The quality wherein he has served }
is to be mentioned after the name. }

A. B. Captain.
C. D. Master.
E. F. Boatswain.
G. H. Purser.

The final discharge to be in the same form, only expressing the names of each ship, and the particular time he may have served in each ship.

SCHEDULE. No. 5.

Form of certificate, by which seamen are to receive their pensions

These are to certify the principal officers and commissioners of his Majesty's navy, that A. B. a pensioner, by virtue of an act of parliament, made in the year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, is living, and at this time in the parish of

Witness our hands, this day of 177

A. B. Minister.
C. D. { Overseer, or Church-warden,
{ If in Scotland. Elder,

SCHEDULE. No. 6.

Form of the oath to be taken by those who have not served his Majesty any part of the term required by this act.

This deponent James Blank, voluntarily maketh oath, that he will faithfully serve his present Majesty, King George the Third, his heirs or successors, conformably to an act of parliament made in the year of the reign of his said Majesty King George the Third, entitled "An act for the more easy and effectual manning of the royal navy, &c. &c." to commence from his first muster on board of any ship or vessel in the British royal navy, where the lords commissioners of the admiralty

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

43

admiralty shall appoint him to serve, against any of the open, avowed, or declared enemies of Great-Britain, its crown and dignities, its religion, laws, and condition. (To be signed) JAMES BLANK.

Sworn before me, on board his Majesty's ship at

this

day of

177

A. B. Captain.

C. D. Lieutenant.

And in the absence of the captain, the lieutenant shall be empowered to administer the above oath, which shall also be taken by every ordinary seaman, inserting the term of FIVE years instead of three years, and by every landman, inserting the the term of six years.

SCHEDULE. No. 7.

Form of the certificate for masters, mates, and carpenters of merchant ships and vessels.

These are to certify whom they may concern, that it appears to us, from the oath of an owner of the ship Ruby (burthen 200 tons) belonging to London, that A. B. is now employed as the master (mate) or (carpenter) of the said ship Ruby, and while so employed, is not to be interrupted by any person or persons, raising men for his Majesty's service, agreeable to an act of parliament made in the year of the reign of his present Majesty King George the Third, entitled "An act for the more easy and effectual manning of the royal navy, &c. &c." Given under our hands and the seal of the office of admiralty this

day of

177

By command of their Lordships

G. H. Sec. or D. Sec.

A. B. }

C. D. }

E. F. }

Lords Commissioners.

SCHEDULE. No. 8.

Form of the certificate for apprentices, in merchant ships and vessels.

It having been made known to us, as well by the oaths of the parties, within mentioned, as by this indenture, that A. B. is bound an apprentice to C. D. for seven years, to learn the art of a mariner, being now under fourteen years of age, we require all persons employed to raise men for his Majesty's service, in no wise to molest, or interrupt the said A. B. during the term of his apprenticeship, and while in the lawful pursuit of his said master's business as a mariner. Given under our hands and the seal of the office of admiralty this

day of

177

By command of their Lordships

G. H. Sec. or D. Sec.

A. B. }

C. D. }

E. F. }

Lords commissioners.

P. S. The perquisites exacted by the admiralty for protections, during an impress, would, if this bill were to pass, be thereby lessened in the amount of several thousand pounds per annum. A consideration, which in some measure accounts for the real cause of that violent opposition, which the present ministry have shewn to a bill, calculated for so many salutary and beneficial purposes.

Adjourned to the 13th.

March 13.

No debate.

March 14.

Private business. Adjourned to the 17th.

March 17.

Lord George Germaine, by his Majesty's command, presented to the House the following papers :

Translation of a treaty between his Majesty and the Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, concluded and signed at Anspach the 1st of February, 1777.

BE IT KNOWN to those whom it may concern, that his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, having thought proper to accept a corps of infantry of the troops of his most serene highness the reigning Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach and Bayrenth, &c. &c. to be employed in the service of Great Britain ; the high contracting parties have given their orders for this purpose, to their respective ministers : to wit. His Britannic Majesty to Colonel William Faucitt, captain of the guards, and the most serene Margrave to his minister of state, the Baron de Gemmingen, who after the exchange of their respective full powers have agreed upon the following articles.

Article I. The most serene Margrave of Brandenburg, yields to his Britannic Majesty a corps of infantry of One thousand two hundred men, which shall consist of two regiments, with one company of chasseurs, all professed soldiers, according to the lists annexed to the present treaty. This corps shall be at the entire disposal of the King of Great Britain, provided they be not sent to the East Indies.

Article II. The most serene Margrave engages to equip this corps completely, so that they may be ready to march on the 28th of this month, at latest, or even sooner, if it can be done. The said corps shall pass in review before his Britannic Majesty's commissary, previous to their departure.

Article III. Each regiment of infantry of this corps shall be furnished with two pieces of field artillery, together with the officers, gunners, and other men, and the train thereto belonging.

Article IV. The most serene Margrave engages to furnish the recruits annually, necessary for this corps, which shall be delivered to his Britannic Majesty's commissary, disciplined and completely equipped at the place of embarkation, at such time as his Majesty shall appoint, in pursuance of the notice which shall be given thereof, four months before their departure.

Article V. The King's service, and the safety of the troops equally requiring that the commanding officers and subalterns should be well skilled and perfect in the service, his most serene highness will take due care in the choice of them.

Article VI. His most serene highness engages to put this corps in the best state that shall be possible, and none shall be admitted therein but men fit for campaign service, and acknowledged as such by his Britannic Majesty's commissary.

Article VII. This corps shall be provided with tents and all the necessary equipage.

Article VIII. The King grants to this corps the ordinary and extraordinary pay, as well as all the advantages in forage, provisions, &c. &c. which the royal troops enjoy; and the most serene Margrave engages, that he will permit this corps to enjoy all the emoluments of pay which his Britannic Majesty allows them; the sick and wounded of the said corps, shall be taken care of in the King's hospitals, and shall be treated in this respect as the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and the wounded, not in a condition to serve, shall be sent to Europe, into their own country, at the King's expence.

Article IX. There shall be paid to his most serene highness, as levy-money, for each foot soldier, thirty crowns *banco*, the crown computed at fifty-three sols of Holland, and valued at four shillings and nine-pence three farthings English money, as well for the infantry as for the chasseurs and artillery; one half of this levy-money shall be paid in six weeks after the signature of the treaty, and the other half in three months. The payment of this levy-money shall be made, nevertheless, on condition that thirty crowns *banco* shall be withheld for each soldier who, not on account of sickness, shall be deficient in the said corps, on the day of their embarkation; which thirty crowns *banco*, shall, however, be paid as soon as the soldiers who were deficient, shall afterwards join their respective corps.

Article X. If it should happen that any one of the battalions or company of this corps should suffer any very extraordinary damage, whether in battle or siege, or by any uncommon contagious distemper, or by the loss of any transport vessel in the passage to America, his Britannic Majesty shall make good, in the most equitable manner, the loss of the officers or soldiers, and defray the expence of the recruits necessary for compleating the corps which shall have sustained such extraordinary damage.

Article XI. The most Serene Margrave reserves to himself the nomination to the vacant offices, as well as the administration of justice. His Britannic Majesty, moreover, will cause orders to be given to the commander of the army, in which this corps shall serve, not to require from this corps any extraordinary service, or which may exceed their proportion with the rest of the army. This corps shall take the oath of fidelity to his Britannic Majesty, without detriment to that which they have taken to their sovereign.

Article XII. The pay shall commence seven days before the march of this corps of troops, and from the time of their being on board the boats, in order to go down the Mayne; all the transport charges shall be borne by his Britannic Majesty.

Article XIII. His Britannic Majesty grants to his most serene highness the Lord Margrave, while this corps of troops shall be in his Majesty's pay, an annual subsidy of forty-five thousand crowns *banco*, to be computed from the day of the ratification of this treaty, which subsidy shall be continued three months after the return of the said corps into the dominions of his most serene highness, and the troops shall enjoy the pay to the end of the month in which they shall be returned in the territories of the Lord Margrave.

Article XIV. This treaty shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned, being furnished with the full powers of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, on the one part, and of his most serene highness the Lord Margrave of Brandenburg on the other part, have signed the present treaty, and have caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto. Done at Anspach, this first day of February 1777.

WILLIAM FAUCITT. CHARLES de GEMMINGEN.

L. S.

L. S.

Establish-

Establishment of the troops of his most serene highness the Margrave of Brandenburg, &c. which are to enter into his Britannic Majesty's service.

General establishment of one regiment.

S T A F F.

- 1 Colonel
- 1 Major
- 1 Chaplain
- 1 Auditor
- 1 Quartermaster
- 1 Surgeon-major
- 1 Drum-major
- 2 Provosts and servant

7 Total of the Staff

Establishment of the Colonel's company.

- 1 Colonel as captain
- 1 Captain-lieutenant
- 2 First lieutenants
- 2 Serjeants
- 1 Fourier
- 1 Surgeon
- 5 Corporals
- 2 Drums
- 1 Fifer
- 1 Servant for the tents
- 95 Private

114

Establishment of the Major's company.

- 1 Major, as Captain
- 2 First lieutenants
- 2 Second lieutenants.
- 2 Serjeants
- 1 Fourier
- 1 Surgeon
- 5 Corporals
- 2 Drums
- 1 Fifer
- 1 Servant for the tents
- 95 Private

113

Establish-

Establishment of the three other companies.

1	Captain
1	First lieutenant
2	Second lieutenants
2	Serjeants
1	Fourier
1	Surgeon
5	Corporals
2	Drums
1	Fifer
1	Servant for the tents
95	Private

112

Total of the Colonel's company	144
Ditto of the Major's company	113
Ditto of three other companies	336
Ditto of the staff - - -	7

Total of the 1st regiment	570
Total of the other regiment	570

Total of the two regiments	1140
----------------------------	------

One company of Chasseurs.

1	Captain
1	First lieutenant
2	Second lieutenants
2	Serjeants
1	Fourier
1	Surgeon
5	Corporals
87	Chasseurs
1	Servant for the tents

101

ARTILLERY.

1	Lieutenant
4	Bombardiers
30	Gunners
8	Conductors
1	Servant for the tents

44

RECA-

RECAPITULATION.

570 The first regiment
570 The second regiment
101 The company of chasseurs
44 Artillery

1285 Sum total

Translation of the ulterior Convention between his Majesty and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse, concluded and signed at Hanau, the 10th of Feb. 1777.

HIS Majesty the King of Great Britain having consented, that the troops of the most serene hereditary prince of Hesse, now in his service in America, should be augmented with a corps of chasseurs; and his most Serene Highness, in consequence of that perfect gratitude, and the respectful and unlimited attachment, with which he is devoted to his Majesty, as well as through zeal for the interests and service of that monarch, having with great alacrity charged himself with the care of raising and furnishing such a corps on his Majesty's subsidy; his minister plenipotentiary, colonel William Faucitt, and the minister and actual privy counsellor of the most serene hereditary prince of Hesse, Frederick de Malsbourg, being furnished with the requisite full powers of their respective masters, have agreed upon the following articles.

Article I. The most serene hereditary prince of Hesse engages, not only to form a corps of chasseurs, and to cause them to be properly armed, cloathed, disciplined, and put in readiness to march to the place of destination, but also to cause one company thereof to march at the beginning of the next month, at latest; and as his Britannic Majesty has made known his desire, that this corps should be extended to a greater number than that of one company which was offered; his most Serene Highness, animated with the desire of conforming himself to his Majesty's intentions, as far as it depends upon him, promises to use all his endeavours for such augmentation, and to encrease the number as much as possible: and as the circumstances will not yet allow of the actual settling of the positive number, it is agreed previously to prepare the annexed state, which shall constitute the basis

and rule for all the other companies, of which it is hoped, four at least may be provided, of 100 men each, so that the whole corps upon this supposition will amount to 412 men, the staff included.

Article II. This corps of chasseurs, the real number of which shall be fixed and settled at the time of their march, shall be completely equipped by his most Serene Highness, and provided with every thing necessary to put them in readiness to march; and his Britannic Majesty promises to take them into his pay, from the moment of the enlisting of each man composing the said corps, and to furnish every thing necessary, when they arrive at the place of their destination, for the transport of their equipage, and likewise provisions, forage, ammunition, &c. &c. for their use, in the same manner, and upon the same footing, as shall be furnished to the Hessian chasseurs, which are on the British subsidy. And as the strength of the said corps cannot be ascertained till they pass in review before the King's commissary, which shall be done, as soon as they are complete, here at Hanau, if possible, or elsewhere, as the circumstances may require; it is agreed that an exact state shall then be prepared of the strength of the said corps, which his Majesty shall take upon subsidy, whatever may be their number, without regarding whether they consist of four companies of more or less. In conformity to that state, which shall be annexed to, and made part of the present treaty, the pay, subsidy, and levy-money for the said corps, shall also be regulated according to the number of men of which it shall then be composed.

Article III. The pay of the corps of chasseurs shall be higher than that which his Majesty allows for the infantry of Hesse-Hanau, now in his service; it shall be equal to that of the Hessian chasseurs, and consequently in the same proportion as it was during the last war. And his Majesty promises moreover, that every thing already granted, or which shall hereafter be granted, for the said Hessian chasseurs, shall be equally allowed to those which the most serene Hereditary Prince shall furnish by virtue of the present convention.

Article IV. The said pay shall commence forthwith: but, as, on the one hand, the number of men is not yet entirely collected, and, on the other, those actually provided already receive pay from the most serene Hereditary Prince, it shall be re-imbursed to him, from the day of their engagement, for all those who have enlisted into the said corps, since

since the 19th of January last; and in like manner, such as are deficient shall not be paid for, but as they enlist therein, according to the returns which shall be made with the utmost exactness, duly attested and certified.

Article V. This corps shall be composed only of chasseurs by profession, or good fuzileers, all disciplined, and possessing the requisite dexterity. And although it is impossible to fix exactly the time in which this corps may be entirely completed, it shall not however be extended further than to the end of the month of April next; and his most Serene Highness promises, that all possible diligence shall be used in order to assemble them, even before that period, if it can be done, and to cause them to march without delay for their destination.

Article VI. Every thing that has been agreed upon in the treaty of the 5th of February, 1776, with regard to the regiment of Hesse-Hanau, which is now in his Majesty's service, shall extend also to the new augmentation of a corps of chasseurs. The subsidy shall be augmented in proportion, from the day of the signature of the present convention, and the advantages granted by the 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th and 12th articles of the former treaty, shall be likewise applied to this corps. Levy money, at 30 crowns *banco*, shall be paid by his Majesty for each chasseur; the crown to be computed at fifty-three sols of Holland; one half of which levy-money shall be paid in one month, and the other half in two months after the signature of the present convention.

Article VII. This ulterior convention shall be ratified by the high contracting parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged as soon as possible.

In testimony whereof, we the undersigned being furnished with the full powers of his majesty the King of Great Britain, on the one part, and of his most serene highness the hereditary Prince of Hesse, on the other, have signed the present convention, and have set thereto the seals of our arms.

Done at Hanau the 10th of February, 1777.

L. S. WILLIAM FAUCITT.

L. S. FREDERICK Baron de MALMSBURY.

State of one battalion of chasseurs.

S T A F F.

Lieutenant colonel is reckoned as head of his company

- 1 Adjutant
- 1 Auditor
- 1 Regimental quarter master
- 1 Surgeon major
- 2 Armourer and his assistant
- 1 Servant for the waggon with the military chest
- 4 Servants for the carriages of the 4 companies
- 1 Provost

—
12
—

First Company.

- 2 Lieutenant colonel, as captain, and his servant
- 2 Captain lieutenant and his servant
- 2 First lieutenant and his servant
- 2 Second lieutenant and his servant
- 1 Serjeant major
- 1 Serjeant
- 1 Fourrier
- 1 Master of arms
- 6 Corporals
- 1 Surgeon
- 3 French horns
- 78 Chasseurs

—
100 Men
—

Second Company.

- 2 Captain and his servant
- 2 First lieutenant and his servant
- 2 Second lieutenant and his servant
- 1 Serjeant major
- 1 Serjeant
- 1 Fourrier
- 1 Master of arms
- 6 Corporals
- 1 Surgeon
- 3 French horns
- 80 Chasseurs

—
100 Men
100 Third company
—

200 Carried over

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

53

200 Brought over
 100 Fourth company
 100 The colonel's company
 12 The staff

412 Men

Estimate of the charge of the additional corps of foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, pursuant to treaties for the year 1777.

	No.	Pay, &c.			Total.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Pay of a regiment of Hessian chasseurs, for 365 days, from 25th Dec. 1776, to 24th Dec. 1777, both inclusive	1067	27328	19	10 $\frac{3}{4}$			
Deduct, voted for two companies of the said corps for the year 1777	262	4321	8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Difference to be made good	805	23007	10	11 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Levy money for 626 chasseurs à pied, at the rate of thirty <i>banco</i> crowns each man		4518	18	9			
Ditto for 179 chasseurs, à cheval, at the rate of 45 <i>banco</i> crowns each		1938	4	8 $\frac{1}{4}$			
Proportional subsidy for ditto for the same time		7263	17	4			
Total for Hessian chasseurs for the year 1777					36728	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pay of a regiment of chasseurs of Hanau for 318 days, from 10th Feb. 1777, to 24th Dec. following, both inclusive	412	10113	7	10 $\frac{1}{2}$			
Levy money for 412 men, at 30 <i>banco</i> crowns each		2974	2	6			
Proportional subsidy for ditto, for the same time		3238	19	9			
					16326	19	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carried over	1217				53055	1	10

	No.	Pay, &c.			Total.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	1217				53055	1	10
Pay of the troops of the Mar- grave of Brandenburg, Anspach, &c. for 307 days, from 21st Feb. 1777, to 24th Dec. following, both inclusive	1241	19495	15	7			
Artillery to ditto	44	1115	8	8			
Levy money for 1285 men, at 30 <i>banco</i> crowns each		9276	1	10½			
Subsidy for ditto, at the rate of 45,000 <i>banco</i> crowns per annum, for 327 days, from 1st Feb. 1777, to 24th Dec. following, both inclu- five		9700	16	3			
					39588	2	4½
Total for the year 1777	2502				92643	4	2½
Deficiencies to be made good for the year 1776, viz.							
Increased pay of one compa- ny of Hessian chasseurs for 328 days, from 1st Feb. 1776, to 24th Dec. following		1177	14	6			
Ditto for one company, for 293 days, from 7th March, 1776, to 24th Dec. fol- lowing		1052	1	0¾			
The pay of the additional to Hessian chasseurs, for 14 days, from 11th Dec. 1776, to 24th Dec. following, both inclusive		882	9	11			
Proportional subsidy for the above additional for the same time		278	12	10½			
					3390	18	4¼
Total	2502				96034	2	6¾

WAR-OFFICE, 17th March, 1777.

BARRINGTON.

March 18.

Private business. Adjourned to March 21.

March 21.

In committee. Resolved to grant the sum in the estimate of the charge of foreign troops in page 53 and 54.

Adjourned to March 24.

March 24.

Resolutions reported and agreed to.

March 25.

No debate.

March 26.

Private business.

March 27.

Bills passed. Adjourned to April 8.

April 8.

Private business.

April 9.

Lord North delivered the following message from his Majesty.

G E O R G E R.

It gives his Majesty much concern, to find himself obliged to acquaint the House of Commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reason of debts incurred by the expences of his household and of his civil government; which, being computed on the fifth day of January last, do amount to more than six hundred thousand pounds. His Majesty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons, of which he has received so many signal proofs, for enabling him to discharge this debt; and that they will, at the same time, make some further provision, for the better support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown.

G. R.

The

The editor of this work has been favoured with the following paper.

Before the Revolution, the whole revenue of the kingdom, was called the revenue of the crown; and the King disposed of it as he pleased. Charles II. and James II. embezzled immense sums. To prevent such abuses in future, the Commons resolved, on the 26th of February, 1689, that the revenue was expired by the vacancy of the throne, and did not devolve on their Majesties king William III. and queen Mary. The King's income for the year 1689, was settled at 600,000*l.* to be paid out of the public revenue. Next year, the hereditary excise was settled upon the King for life, with a clause to make it a security for 250,000*l.* And the customs were settled upon the King, at the same time, for four years; with a clause to make them a security for 500,000*l.* But these duties did not produce what they were laid at. In 1698 a further subsidy of tonnage and poundage was laid; and these were all settled on the King for life, at 700,000*l. per annum.* The same was continued to queen Anne. In 1713, the Queen being in debt, she was empowered to appoint, by letters patent, the sum of 35,000*l.* to be issued out of the civil-list revenues for thirty-two years, to such person or persons, as should advance the sum of 500,000*l.* for paying off the debts of the civil list. In 1715, the sum of 120,000*l. per annum,* was added to the civil-list revenue, during the life of George I. upon condition, that if the whole civil-list revenue with this addition, produced less than 700,000*l.* yearly, the deficiency should be made good by Parliament; but if it produced more, the surplus should go to the aggregate fund, which was this year established. In 1720, the civil list being greatly in arrear, the Royal and London assurance companies, agreed to give the King 600,000*l.* for letters of incorporation. They paid 300,000*l.* but were excused paying the remainder, by an act passed the next year, enabling the King to borrow 500,000*l.* at five *per cent,* till redeemed by the crown, and to deduct six-pence in the pound upon all pensions, salaries, &c. for the payment of that interest. The civil list continuing in arrear, the King was enabled, in 1725, to borrow one million by exchequer bills, &c. at three *per cent,* upon the credit of the civil-list revenues, and fixpenny deduction, till repayment of the principal. This was to redeem the 500,000*l.* borrowed in 1721, and to supply the King with 500,000*l.* to discharge the civil-list debts. Next year (1726) the million raised by exchequer bills, &c. was repaid by a lottery, and the fixpenny deduction was made perpetual.

Upon the accession of George II. the civil list was increased to 800,000*l. per annum,* for his life, and if it ever fell short of that sum, the

the deficiency to be made good by Parliament; but no mention was made of any surplus, if any should happen.

George III. upon his accession, solicited a clear, net, yearly income of 800,000*l.* in lieu of the civil list revenues. This was the plan of his father; who, in a paper delivered to the opposition by the present Lord Le D. &c. says, "His Royal Highness farther promises to accept of no more than 800,000*l.* for his civil list, by way of rent charge." However, on the 28th of February, 1769, his present Majesty requested, by message to Parliament, a sum for the payment of his debts; and in compliance, 513,511*l.* was granted. The message of this day is the second application. But it is a question of some moment upon this occasion, "What sum is the royal income at this time?" It is almost impossible to state it, in every part, with precision: yet an estimate has been made; and it is presumed, with tolerable accuracy. However, not to vouch for authenticity, where no reasonable man can expect it, it will be sufficient, if there is no capital nor egregious mistake.

Civil list	_____	_____	£. 800,000
Revenue of Hanover, when the establishment, &c. is paid, brings in clear, at least	_____	_____	100,000
Ireland	_____	_____	90,000
Wales	_____	_____	10,000
Lancaster	_____	_____	20,000
Cornwall, after paying the lord warden's court, &c. produces, at least			70,000
Four and a half per cent in the West Indies		—	50,000
Coal pits at Louisburgh	_____	_____	12,000
Interest of debts due to the late king	_____		150,000

[If ministers think this sum too much, will they shew the correspondence with the court of Saxony *only*, for a little time before the death of the Princess of Wales?]

1,320,000

There

There are a few other particulars, *per contra*, which deserve notice

The quit rents in North America are lost, at least for the present ;
they were about

per annum 15,000

The four and a half *per cent* duty in North America, also lost,
about

per annum 50,000

The several royalties, manorial rights, &c. enjoyed by former
kings of England, and till lately collected under different names
in North America, all lost.

An encreased family of eleven children ; but ten only ought to be
reckoned ; the Bishop of Osnaburg being maintained out of his
own revenues. However, being all very young, except the
Prince of Wales, their expences cannot be considerable.

On the other hand, it is equally worthy of attention,
That by the death of the Princess of Wales there was a saving to
the civil list of

per annum 50,000

That by the deaths of the Dukes of York and Cumberland, Prince
Frederick and Princess Louisa

By the marriages of the Princesses Augusta and Matilda.

All these having something out of the civil list ; put the whole
at only

50,000

If the charge of some of their domestics, the number of which is
annually decreasing, be thought worth mentioning, the gain
by the interest of the saving, ready money left, jewels, &c. &c.
may be put as no very improper equivalent.

In the charges upon the civil list, must not be included some of
the great departments, such as admiralty, treasurer of the navy,
&c. &c. they being paid out of the several expences of those
departments, voted by Parliament ; nor of the boards, and
other officers of the revenue, as customs, excise, stamps, &c.
they being all paid out of their own receipts. And the pensions,
&c. upon the revenue of Scotland, are paid in Scotland, before
that revenue is remitted to England.

The affair of Somerset-house produced a gain of about

100,000

The presents from the eastern princes are not under-rated at one
million sterling. But if ministers are inclined to dispute it,
will they shew what have been the presents from the Nabob of
Arcot only ?

1,000,000

Taking a summary of the whole, and making and allowing every
necessary consideration, on both sides, it may be presumed, that
the royal income has, since the accession of his present Majesty,
been *communibus annis*

1,400,000

At the same time it is not improper to remark, that whatever may
be the sum of his Majesty's debts, the majority of his creditors
are the majority in the two Houses of Parliament. Perhaps, at
least, half a million is due to those who vote it.

An Account of all the Civil List Expences which incurred and became due between the 5th
use, distinguishing each year, including the sums paid by the several

	In the year ended 5th Jan. 1770.			5th Jan. 1771.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
To her majesty the Queen	50000	0	0	50000	0	0
Their R. H. the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburgh	0	0	0	0	0	0
More for extraordinary expences	0	0	0	0	0	0
Their R. H. Prince William Henry and Prince Edward	0	0	0	0	0	0
More for extraordinary expences	0	0	0	0	0	0
His royal highness the Duke of Cumberland	9000	0	0	9000	0	0
Her royal highness the Princess Amelia	12000	0	0	12000	0	0
Her royal highness the Princess Dowager of Wales	60000	0	0	60000	0	0
Pensions to the late servants to ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pensions to the late Queen's servants	3120	10	5	2969	8	7
Foreign ministers on their ordinary and extraordinary al- lowances	85935	13	2½	79990	17	1
Fees and salaries at the exchequer	115669	14	7¾	115763	14	11¾
Pensions and annuities payable there	36087	15	3¾	34535	18	3¾
The band of gentlemen pensioners	6000	0	0	6000	0	0
Secretaries of state for secret service	9000	0	0	9000	0	0
R. Shadwell, Esq. for secret service by secretaries of state	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. for secret service	42000	0	0	26000	0	0
Thomas Bradshaw, Esq. ditto	4000	0	0	8000	0	0
John Robinson, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Milward Rowe, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	4000	0	0
Secret service by the secretary of the post office	6723	12	0	6723	12	0
His Majesty's privy purse	48000	0	0	48000	0	0
Sundry persons as his Majesty's free gift and royal bounty	6766	4	3¼	8786	7	6
Jewels, or presents in lieu thereof, to ministers from abroad	4343	6	0	1629	15	0
Contingencies of divers natures	126461	13	0¼	87422	12	11
Expences in the office of cofferer of his Majesty's household	99260	7	8½	99854	8	7¾
Ditto of the treasurer of the chamber	56998	14	4	59713	7	8½
Ditto of the master of the great wardrobe	14529	15	6	18420	12	0
Ditto of the master of the robes	3700	10	2½	4140	11	0¼
Ditto of the paymaster of the works	36598	13	5¾	37814	14	4
Ditto of the master of the horse to his Majesty	14295	16	7¼	15845	15	6¼
Ditto of the master of his Majesty's jewel office	6823	17	2	3962	18	0
Pensions payable by Lord Viscount Gage	59599	18	7	61063	18	7
Charge of the hanaper in the court of chancery	2000	0	0	2000	0	0
	918916	2	5½	872638	12	2¼

Out of the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall.

To Thomas Bradshaw, Esq. for his Majesty's special service	11000	0	0	17000	0	0
To John Robinson, Esq. for ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
To Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. for ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Revenue of Gibraltar.						
To Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. for ditto	2144	8	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1059	7	6
To John Robinson, Esq. for ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Late King's arrears.						
To Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. for ditto	1149	6	1	0	0	0
Money paid by Charles Hamilton, Esq. from Guadaloupe.						
To ditto for ditto	183	13	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.						
To ditto for his Majesty's secret service	0	0	0	0	0	0
To ditto for his Majesty's special service	14742	5	0	9477	15	0
To Thomas Bradshaw, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	4213	5	0
To Sir William Breton, ditto	0	0	0	213	5	0
To John Robinson, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Virginia quit-rents.						
To Thomas Bradshaw, Esq. ditto	4240	0	0	1048	0	0
To John Robinson, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
To Osgood Hanbury, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
To Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nova Scotia quit-rents.						
To John Robinson, Esq. ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sale of lands in Georgia.						
To ditto for ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Casual revenue of Barbadoes.						
To ditto for ditto	0	0	0	0	0	0
Georgia quit-rents.						
To ditto for his Majesty's secret service	0	0	0	0	0	0

At the exchequer.	In the year ended 5th Jan. 1777.			5th Jan. 177	
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.
To her Majesty the Queen	50000	0	0	50000	0
To the Princess Dowager of Wales	10000	0	0	10000	0
To the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburgh	0	0	0	0	0
More for extraordinaries	0	0	0	0	0
For Prince William Henry and Prince Edward	0	0	0	0	0
More for extraordinaries	0	0	0	0	0
To the Duke of Cumberland	9000	0	0	9000	0
For the late Queen's servants	5661	19	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	2275	16
For the late Princess Dowager of Wales's servants	0	0	0	0	0
To the cofferer of his Majesty's household	191517	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	71934	16
To the treasurer of the chamber	100686	2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	50215	19
To the master of his Majesty's great wardrobe	32422	2	1	16270	19
To the master of the robes	6731	11	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	2938	9
To the master of the horse for extraordinaries of the sta- bles	24000	0	0	13000	0
To the paymaster of his Majesty's works	55020	5	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	36082	7
To foreign ministers, on their ordinary and extraordinary allowances	163530	0	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	61022	1
For fees and salaries	171618	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	93525	3
For pensions and annuities at the exchequer	64735	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	28658	2
For ditto, payable by Lord Viscount Gage	99360	12	3	60346	8
To sundry persons, as his Majesty's free gift and royal bounty	6766	4	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	8786	7
To the band of gentlemen pensioners	10500	0	0	4500	0
To Richard Shadwell, Esq. for secret service by his Ma- jesty's secretaries of state	0	0	0	0	0
To his Majesty's secretaries of state for secret service	9000	0	0	6750	0
To Sir Grey Cooper, Bart. for ditto	42000	0	0	26000	0
To Thomas Bradshaw, Esq. for ditto	4000	0	0	8000	0
To John Robinson, Esq. for ditto	0	0	0	0	0
To Milward Rowe, Esq. for ditto	0	0	0	4000	0
To the secretary of the post office, for ditto	10085	8	0	5883	14
For his Majesty's privy purse	48000	0	0	44000	0
For jewels, or presents in lieu thereof, to ministers from abroad	4343	6	0	1629	15
To his Majesty's goldsmith for plate	14872	13	2	3595	3
For contingences of divers natures	131204	1	9	74180	0
	1265104	16	1	692595	4
At the excise office.					
To the Princess Dowager of Wales	10000	0	0	10000	0
To the Princess Amelia	12000	0	0	12000	0
At the post office.					
To the Princess Dowager of Wales	40000	0	0	40000	0
At the alienation office.					
For the charge of Hanaper in the court of chancery	2000	0	0	2000	0
	1329104	16	1	756595	4

There remained in cash in the exchequer, on the 5th of January,
Besides which sum, there remains to be replaced to the Civil List, to make good

To William Bowyer, Esq.

John Hattfell, Esq.

Mr. Edward Moore

Kenton Coufe, Esq. to complete the repairs, &

For answering the payments for his Majesty's Civil

There remained in the exchequer on the 5th of January, 1769

Granted out of the supplies for the year 1769, to replace money

More granted out of ditto, to discharge the debts owing upon the
The annuity of 800,000l. for 8 years, from the 5th of January,

much as was granted to his late Majesty out of the aggregate fund and duty arising from wine licences, had been granted to his present Majesty, from his accession to the 5th of January, 1777; the amount of the annuity received by his Majesty in lieu of those revenues; and the advantage to the public after deducting, as well the said annuity, as the money granted by parliament to pay off the civil list debt, on the 5th of January, 1769, viz.

CHARGE ON THE AGGREGATE FUND.

	Net produce of the hereditary and temporary revenues.			120000l. per annum, pursuant to an act 1 ^o Georgii 2di.			70000l. per annum, pursuant to an act 9 ^o Georgii 2di, in lieu of duty on low wines, &c.			The sum of 2125l. 15s. 2 ¹ 2d. brought to account annually at Midsummer, pursuant to an act 4 ^o Georgii 2di, in lieu of the flax duty repealed.			The sum of 2388l. 4s. 11d. brought to account annually on the 12th of May, pursuant to an act of 12 ^o Geo. 2di, in lieu of duty on woollen and bay yarn imported from Ireland, repealed.			On 7002l. 14s. 3d. per annum, brought to account quarterly from the duty on wine licences, pursuant to act 30 ^o Georgii 2di.			Totals.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
from the 25th of Oct. 1760, to the 5th of Jan. 1762	645844	0	11 3	144827	11	8 3	84482	15	2	1473	9	5 1	1302	1	8 1	8451	11	0	886381	10	0 1
the year ended the 5th of January, 1763	638293	2	8 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	839809	17	1 6
4	667743	6	1 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	869260	0	6 6
5	723976	2	1 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	925492	16	6 6
6	813979	5	11 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	1015496	0	4 3
7	707217	0	10 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	908733	15	3 3
8	732336	2	6 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	933852	16	11 1
9	752744	6	6 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	954261	0	11 1
1770	778678	15	5 0	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	980195	9	10 5
1	779186	13	0 2	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	980703	7	5 1
2	794763	8	3 8	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	996280	2	7 1
3	788873	2	8 2	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	990389	17	0 1
4	776370	0	2 1	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	977886	14	6 1
5	784774	12	10 2	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	986291	7	3 1
6	838283	16	0 0	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	1039800	10	4 1
7	860406	12	11 2	120000	0	0	70000	0	0	2125	15	2 1	2388	4	11	7002	14	3	1061923	7	4 4
	12083470	9	3 1	1944827	11	8 3	1134482	15	2	33359	17	7 1	37125	15	5 1	113492	4	9	15346758	13	11 1

The amount of the annuity of 800,000l, granted to his Majesty from the 25th of October 1760, to the 5th of January, 1777, is

The produce, as above, exceeds the annuity by

but parliament granted to pay off the civil list debt, on the 5th of January, 1769, out of the supplies for the year 1769

Which being deducted, shews the gain to the public to be

2381241	9	13
513511	0	0
1867730	0	13

An Account of the several sums which were due and unpaid at the receipt of the Exchequer for the expence of his Majesty's civil government on the 5th day of January, 1777; with the money applicable towards discharging the same; and the debt then remaining unprovided for: *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.
To her Majesty the Queen on 50,000 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum.</i>	12500	0	0
To the Prince of Wales and Bishop of Osnaburg on 7346 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> <i>per annum.</i>	1836	12	6
To defray fundry expences for the said Princes	849	9	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
To Prince William Henry and Prince Edward on 1115 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum.</i>	278	15	0
To defray fundry expences for the said Princes	278	16	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
To the Duke of Cumberland on 9000 <i>l.</i> <i>per annum.</i>	2250	0	0
For pensions to the servants to the late Queen	3076	14	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
For pensions to the servants to the late Princess Dowager of Wales	20025	9	5
To the Cofferer of his Majesty's household	135415	15	8
To the Treasurer of the Chamber	70938	16	7
To the Master of the great Wardrobe	21566	9	11
To the Master of the Robes	4043	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
For his Majesty's works and gardens	56788	3	0 $\frac{3}{4}$
For the extraordinaries of his Majesty's stables	11309	4	0
To his Majesty's goldsmith for plate	3552	12	2
To foreign ministers on their ordinary and extraordinary allowances	91935	14	2
For fees, salaries, and pensions, payable at the Exchequer	145790	15	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
For pensions and bounties payable by Lord Viscount Gage	68652	17	9
To the band of gentlemen pensioners	7500	0	0
To the Secretaries of State for secret service	2250	0	0
To the Secretary of the Post-Office for ditto	1784	16	0

For Contingencies of divers natures.

	£.	s.	d.
To the King's Printers	13243	14	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
For incident expences of the board of trade	2634	4	8
Carried forward	15877	19	7
	662624	16	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
To			

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

61

Brought forward

£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
15877	19	7½	662624	16	7½

To the usher of the receipt of the Exchequer

11489 1 11

To the usher of the Court of Exchequer

1106 13 9

To sundry sheriffs for conviction of felons, &c.

1640 0 0

To Thomas Sandby for disbursements in Windsor Forest

2281 15 7¼

To Lord Viscount Howe, and Sir William Howe commissioners for restoring peace in America 100l. per week each

1742 17 2

To Henry Strachey, Esq; secretary to the said commissioners

183 0 0

To Ambrose Serle, Esq; another

122 0 0

To Benedict Schaller, for necessaries furnished the treasury

120 0 0

For rent of the privy seal office

102 13 6

For rent of the secretary of state's office in Cleveland-row

233 8 9

For rent of Mote park

80 17 3

For ground rent of Cumberland house

316 18 6

For pay of watchmen at the Exchequer

87 0 0

For watering the ring in Hyde Park

200 0 0

For the under clerks of the council

300 0 0

To officers of the Tally Court, for striking tallies

196 0 0

To the company of Chelsea water works

65 17 6

To the keeper of Bagshot Rails, for turneps, &c. for the deer

175 0 0

To the Duke of Gloucester for the expence of holding Swanimote courts

30 0 0

36351 6½

Carried over

698976 0 2¼

Towards

Brought over
Towards satisfying the above sums
there remained in the Exche-
quer on the 5th of January,
1777

To which adding the sum to be
granted out of the aids 1777,
to replace payments pursuant
to addresses before the 5th of Ja-
nuary, 1777

And the total thereof being de-
ducted

Will leave the debt unpro-
vided for on the 5th of Janu-
ary, 1777

Memorandum,

This debt is the greater by the monies issued to the
following persons, pursuant to his Majesty's
orders, to be by them applied for the relief and
benefit of fundry American civil officers, and
others, who have suffered on account of their
attachment to his Majesty's government.

To Thomas Pratt, Esq;	13664	1	0
Milward Rowe, Esq;	15793	19	0
Thomas Cotton, Esq;	1092	9	6
John Martin Leake, Esq;	1119	7	0

31669 16 6

Besides which there has been paid
for the above purpose by

Sir Grey Cooper, Bart.	£. 285
John Robinson, Esq;	980

1265 0 0

Total applied on account of this
service

32934 16 6

Therefore were Parliament to
make good to his Majesty this
sum of

32934 16 6

The debt then remaining unpro-
vided for, would be

618340 9 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

£. s. d. £. s. d.
698976 0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$

35640 12 2

12060 2 0

47700 14 2

651275 6 0 $\frac{1}{4}$

The preceding papers were, by his Majesty's command, laid upon the table by Lord North.

April 16.

Lord *John Cavendish*, as soon as the order of the day for Lord *John* going into a committee of supply, to take his Majesty's mes- *Cavendish*. sage of the 9th instant into consideration was read, rose and moved, "that the order of reference, made on the same day, be discharged." His Lordship stated his objections on two grounds; first, on the manifest defectiveness of the accounts; and secondly, to the excess of expenditure. The former, he said, came unaecompanied by any voucher, or collateral, or explanatory observation, that could give them an air of authenticity, worthy of the attention of that house; the latter, relative to the excess of expenditure, came tolerably well vouched, and bore the most ample and authentic testimony, that the excess had arose from causes which would not bear the light. The manner of fabricating the accounts, and of stating the excess, helped to explain each other. The accounts just stated the disbursements, without telling to whom, or for what particular service: the excess of course, was the consequence of such a statement; and shewed, that it arose, but not why it should be provided for. His Lordship next went into several comparative estimates of the out-goings of the two periods of eight years of the present reign, with the like periods of the preceding reign, and demonstrated clearly, that taking the sixteen years of the present reign, and comparing them with sixteen years of the late reign; or taking an average of the expenditure of both reigns, that making every allowance for encrease of family, and advanced price of the necessaries of life, the fair expenditure of his present Majesty ought to be some thousand pounds a year less than his predecessor. His Lordship next separately observed on the heads under which the excess arose; on the cofferer's account, board of works, pensions, annuities, secret service, and ambassadors: he took a particular view of each of them, and shewed, that instead of encreasing, they ought, from every appearance without, and from every motive within, to have been considerably lessened. He adverted to a saying of James the First, that we ought to have an army of ambassadors; whether such an army were now necessary, when we already were burdened with a standing army, he would not pretend to decide: but he was certain, if the gross sum charged in the account was truly stated, we at least paid for an army of ambassadors. We ought to have a larger corps
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of diplomatiques than even the negotiating James had ; for certainly they cost us almost as much as his whole household. His Lordship, after descanting pretty fully on these several matters, said, he should have expected a saving instead of a deficiency within the last eight years, because the revenue of the Princess Dowager of Wales had ceased during the last five years, which the public had a right to expect, would have augmented the royal income to a very considerable amount ; nor had the expence of the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnaburgh, amounted to a fourth of what lapsed to the crown, by the death of that princess. The honour and dignity of the crown was the common pretext on which applications, such as the present, were always founded ; of course, he should expect to hear them pervade the whole of the ministerial language of this day ; but in his opinion, if the minister had the honour and dignity of the crown at heart, he would have applied to Parliament earlier ; nay, he would have annually applied to Parliament, as the debt was incurred. Parliament would most probably have taken, or devised some mode of lessening the outgoings ; of retrenching unnecessary expences : they would, as a part of their duty, have enquired into the state of the expenditure of the civil list revenue ; and if they discovered, as most certainly they must, any abuses, they would rectify them, or totally remove the cause. Such a proceeding would have had several salutary effects, besides the mere saving ; it would have rendered the King easy in his private capacity as a gentleman ; it would have rendered any augmentation of the civil list revenue totally unnecessary ; and it would have preserved, what no man in that House was more solicitous about, it would have prevented the lustre and dignity of the crown from being lowered and tarnished ; and its subjects from being burdened, plundered, and oppressed. His Lordship pressed, with great earnestness, and force of reasoning, the dangerous consequences, which would probably arise from an augmentation of the civil list revenue, and the consequent increase of the influence of the crown, already become much too powerful. He insisted, it would add to that depravity of morals which was known so much to prevail ; it would have the same effect, that an uncontrouled revenue has upon the people in arbitrary countries, where they follow and attach themselves to the court, in order to procure places ; which prevents them from turning their attention, or directing their pursuits, to industry and those liberal professions and occupations, which render men

men at once useful and ornamental to society. Finally his Lordship observed, that the noble Lord who now presides at the treasury, and made the present application, was minister in 1769, and came then, on the same errand, for a sum of money to pay the King's debts; and, as well as his memory at this distance of time could serve him, he then assured the House, that he would never come again on a like purpose; but armed with precedents at all points, all his Lordship, he presumed, had to do, was to tell the House, that the debt was contracted, and that it must be paid.

Lord North. He said, before he should proceed to answer Ld. North. the objections now urged by the noble Lord, who moved to have the order of reference discharged, or answer any of the reasons offered in support of the propriety and necessity of such a measure, he would beg leave to set his Lordship right, in the honour he had done him, by saying, he was at the head of the finances when the last application was made to Parliament, for the discharge of the King's debts. He begged leave to assure his Lordship, he was not at the head of the finances; and his Lordship must be convinced, he was not, on recollection. He delivered the message, it is true, because he was then at the treasury board: but he begged leave to remind the House, as well as the noble Lord, that he did not promise, nor was he authorized to promise, that future applications of a similar nature would not be made. He confessed, that the task was a disagreeable one, taking it in the most favourable light; and when he last came upon a like errand, he little thought it would have ever fallen to his lot again; for as several of his predecessors, much his superiors in point of abilities, had continued but a short time in administration, he never entertained the most distant idea, or expectation, that he should ever again be compelled to repeat the same request; but at length, said his Lordship, such is the stability of government, that an administration can even outlive eight years! His Lordship then appealed to the sense of his general expressions, when he delivered the royal message in 1769, and insisted, that he never promised to restrain the civil list expences within any certain bounds, or pledged himself to prevent any future excess. In answer to the excess of expenditure, so much dwelt upon by the noble Lord, he said, the last four of the eight years, the expenditure had undergone a considerable decrease, nearly, if his memory served him right, to the amount of 100,000*l. per annum*. He said, that the last year, it had encreased, and that for a
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very obvious reason ; because several steady friends to government, natives of America, and others, for their loyalty and attachment to the Crown and Parliament of Great-Britain, had been stripped of their property, and driven thence, without the means of support ; some without even the means of sustenance, to seek relief in this country. Many of these had been relieved by royal bounty, and had consequently considerably encreased the out-goings ; he believed to the amount of 27,000*l.* No notice, he observed, had been taken of several causes of expence, that daily arose. If the Princess Dowager's death, so far served to augment the royal revenue, the Prince of Wales, the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and Prince William, remained to be taken out of it, to the amount of 12,000*l.* a year. Again, the encreased pensions to Judges, amounted to upwards of 4000*l.* a year ; for though no regular applications were made on that account, he thought that when great men had been worn down by age and infirmities, it would be extremely improper to neglect paying a suitable attention to their rank and services. He hoped, the civil list expenditure, would not in future exceed 900,000*l. per annum*, because the four and half per cent. duty paid from the Leeward Islands, and the recovery of the American quit-rents, after the present unnatural rebellion, would form such a fund in support of the present proposed establishment, as would render similar applications to Parliament totally unnecessary. The noble Lord had said a good deal respecting the charge of Ambassadors, and the excess of expenditure under that head ; but he was free to contend, that if the noble Lord thought it worth his while to inspect that article again, he would find the expence of Ambassadors rather diminished than increased ; were the allowance made to Lord and General Howe deducted. The noble Lord and his brother were paid as such, and having a Secretary, the whole establishment was what principally caused the increase. His Lordship entered into several computations, which controverted the facts laid down by the noble Lord who spoke first ; many of which depending on figures, were differently stated on each side to answer the ends of argument, we shall pass over, as neither affording entertainment, nor acknowledged data that could be depended upon. He denied, that the influence of the Crown had been on the increase, since the accession of his present Majesty, but contended, that the strength of government had been purely augmented by the wisdom and rectitude of his

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his Majesty's councils; and the esteem and confidence of his subjects. The obligations were mutual, and justly merited; and if such an influence as that described by the noble Lord had really existed, he was perfectly satisfied his Majesty would employ it not in endeavouring to abridge the liberties of his subjects, or in acts of oppression; but in protecting them in the full enjoyment of every thing which might promise to render them a prosperous, virtuous, and happy people. As to the last objection made to the proposed augmentation, that it would, as in arbitrary countries, tend to hurt the morals of the people, and generate place-hunters and idlers, who might be better employed, and thereby become more useful to the state, he could not possibly trace the consequence; for he knew no new places, or appointments, the present measure would give birth to; and as for such as were already established, he did not think it was in the power of the noble Lord, or any other person, to reduce the number of those who make daily application for places, without he first undertook to reduce the number of places themselves; for without such a previous reduction, he was satisfied all other methods would prove totally ineffective.

Mr. *Wilkes*. There is not a gentleman in this House or in the kingdom, more anxious than I am, to see the splendour and dignity of the Crown of England maintained in its utmost lustre, although for above a course of fifteen years I have received from the Crown only a succession of injuries, and never in any moment of my life, the slightest favour. I had the honour, Sir, of a seat in this House, when the affair of the civil list was first agitated in Parliament, in the beginning of his present Majesty's reign, when every good subject hoped to have more than the idea of a Patriot King: then heartily acquiesced in the proposed grant. The acceptance of an annuity of 800,000*l.* and the giving up to the public, the ancient hereditary revenues of the Crown originated from the throne, and was proposed to this House, in the usual mode, by Mr. Legge, then chancellor of the exchequer. Parliament adopted the proposition, and it was accepted with gratitude by the King. The ministers of that time declared to this House the King's entire satisfaction; and that his Majesty should be happy, to be delivered from the disagreeable necessity of ever applying to Parliament, like his predecessors, to make good the deficiencies of the civil list. It was admitted, that the allowances were competent, ample, most fully adequate to the wants, and even to

the splendour of the Crown. Parliament granted all the Sovereign asked, and made the grant in the very mode proposed by the minister. The civil list act expressly declares in the preamble, that 800,000*l.* was a certain competent revenue for defraying the expences of his Majesty's civil government, and supporting the dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain. The nation thought themselves assured of not paying more than 800,000*l.* *per annum*, to the civil list; and gave that sum chearfully, for the trappings of royalty. In the speech at the close of that session, our gracious young Monarch told us from the throne, "that he could not sufficiently thank us," and that, "he thought himself much obliged to us, for what more immediately concerned himself." By this bargain, Sir, with the public, it was generally understood, and indeed admitted at that time, that his Majesty would be a gainer of near 70000*l.* *per annum*. The noble Lord with the blue ribbon has unfairly drawn his calculations, from only the last eight years of the late King's reign. He ought to have taken the whole of that reign together. In some years the civil list was very deficient, in others, it greatly exceeded the sum of 800,000*l.* As this is peculiarly a day of dry calculation, I will observe, that from the accounts delivered into Parliament, it appeared, that in the thirty-three years of George the Second's reign, from Midsummer 1727, to Midsummer 1760, the civil list produced only 26,182,981*l.* whereas, 800,000*l.* for thirty-three years, amounts to 26,400,000*l.* so that there is a deficiency of 217,019*l.* the gain therefore on a net revenue of 800,000*l.* is on an average above 6576*l.* a year. The sum of 800,000*l.* was at that time thought abundantly sufficient to support the splendour of the crown, and the Majesty of this great people. His Majesty has received besides 172,605*l.* the arrears of the late King's civil list; 100,000*l.* on account of Somerset House; and an additional grant of 513,511*l.* in the year 1769, to discharge all incumberances. The death of the Princess Dowager of Wales was a saving of 60,000*l.* a year; and the Duke of York of 12,000*l.* a year. Yet, Sir, we are told of another debt of 618,340*l.* and called upon to pay that likewise; notwithstanding the former bargain with the public. The very proposal implies another violation of public faith. Sir, I will venture to say, if we are indeed just trustees for the people, if we consciously reflect that their wealth is intrusted to our care, that we are the guardians of the public purse, we ought to stop this growing evil,

evil, and to reprobate the idea of suffering their money to be thus squandered, as well as the country drained by a variety of taxes to supply a profusion, which arises from a violation of a solemn compact with the nation, and renders the limitation of the expences of the Crown by Parliament the most vague and absurd of all propositions. The power of controul of the expences of the Crown is the very being and life of Parliament. Are the accounts on our table proofs of our boasted œconomy? and is meanness thus nearly allied to prodigality?

There is at present, Sir, a peculiar cruelty in thus endeavouring to fleece the people, when we are involved in a most expensive, as well as unnatural and ruinous civil war, and burdened with an enormous load of national debt, the interest of which even we are scarcely able to stand under. Is there no feeling for the sufferings of this impoverished country? Are the people really nothing in the scale of government? The principal of the national debt is stated to us at Midsummer 1775, to amount to the astonishing sum of 135,943,051*l.* and the interest to 4,440,821*l.* Is this the time, Sir, that a minister can with an unembarrassed countenance come to Parliament to lay additional loads on an exhausted nation, and to ask more of the people's money? When the greatest sources of our commerce and wealth are destroyed by his folly and wickedness; when we have already spent in this unjust war above nineteen millions, when above half our empire is lost; and those American friends, who have assisted us so frequently and so powerfully, are forced by our injustice to become determined enemies, and for their own safety to endeavour our humiliation? Are we at such a moment as this to talk of the greatness of the Crown, shorn of half its beams, when we have lost more than we have retained of this divided empire; when new taxes, and additional burdens on the people, are the sole objects of government? Is the civil list to encrease in proportion to the loss of all those resources of trade and riches, by which it is fed and nourished? Is the nature of the civil list in the body politic analogous to what Lord Bacon says of the spleen, that it increases in proportion to the waste, decay, and rapid consumption of the other parts of the human body?

Sir, we ought to look back to what former Princes and Parliaments have done. I will take the consideration only from the glorious æra of the Revolution, and I will state it

fairly and fully. The civil list was not granted to King William for life till the year 1698, when 700,000*l.* a year was settled on him. The distractions of his government, and of all Europe at that period, are well known. His most generous views for the public were thwarted at home during the greater part of his reign by the tories, as the friends of liberty are now harraffed by them in America, according to the spirited letters of General Washington to the Congress. Queen Anne had the same revenue settled upon her. She gave yearly 100,000*l.* towards carrying on the war, a war against France, besides 200,000*l.* at least towards the building of Blenheim-House, and above 100,000*l.* for the support of the poor Palatines. We have a resolution of this House, Sir, on a report from a committee, which states this very fully. It is on the Journals of May 13, 1715, and in the following words, "Resolved, that the sum of 700,000*l.* *per annum* was settled upon his late Majesty King William during his life, for the support of his Majesty's household, and other his necessary occasions; and, at the time of his Majesty's demise, after the deduction of 3700*l.* a week, that was applied to the public uses, was the produce of the civil list revenues, that were continued and settled upon her late Majesty Queen Anne, during her life." The deduction for public services of 3700*l.* a week, or 192,400*l.* a year, from that part of the civil list revenue called the hereditary and temporary excise, was first made in the last year of King William. Notwithstanding this deduction the civil list funds produced in that very year 709,420*l.* In the first of Queen Anne the same funds with the same deductions were settled on her for her life, and declared to be for raising 700,000*l.* a year for the support of her household, and the dignity of her government. In the 9th of her reign the old Post-office act was repealed, and a new General Post-office with higher rates was established, in consideration of which another deduction was made from the civil list revenue of 700*l.* a week, or 36,400*l.* a year. Both these deductions have ever since been continued.

George I. had the same revenue settled upon him as Queen Anne, but if 300,000*l.* paid him by the Royal Exchange and London Assurance Companies, and a million granted in 1726 towards paying his debts, are included, his income will appear to have been nearly 800,000*l.* *per annum*. In the first speech to his Parliament he took notice, "that it was
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his happiness to see a Prince of Wales, who may, in due time, succeed to the the throne, and to see him blessed with many children ;” yet the establishment of the civil list at the beginning of that reign was only settled at 700,000*l.* a year. It was not till after the great expences consequent on the rebellion of the Earl of Mar, and the other perjured Scots, who, although they had taken the oaths to his government, traiterously waged open and impious war against a mild and just Sovereign, that the Parliament paid the King’s debts. In the reign of George I. the Prince of Wales had an establishment of 100,000*l.* *per annum.*

George II. had a very numerous family, and 800,000*l.* was at first settled upon him with whatever surplus might arise from the duties and allowances composing the civil list revenue. In 1726 that part of the hereditary and temporary excise, which consisted of duties on spirituous liquors, was taken from the civil list, in consideration of which 70,000*l.* was transferred to it from the aggregate fund. The income of George II. including 115,000*l.* granted in 1729, and 456,733*l.* in 1747, towards making good the deficiencies, which had arisen in the civil list duties, was 810,749*l.* *per annum* for 33 years. His late Majesty likewise had in his reign a Scottish rebellion, carried on by many of the same traitors who had been pardoned by his father. The expence of that rebellion to the King and kingdom was enormous ; for it was not confined to the extremities of the island, but raged in the heart of the kingdom, and the rebels advanced to within a hundred miles of the capital. Such an event, Sir, not unforeseen, because foretold, was a just ground for the Parliament’s discharging a debt contracted by securing to us every thing dear to men and Englishmen.

The establishment of the present King, at the yearly rent-charge to the nation of 800,000*l.* was a measure at the time equally pleasing both to the Prince and people. The minister boasted that there was not a possibility of any future dispute about the hereditary revenues, or concerning accounts suspected to be false, wilfully erroneous, or deceitful, kept back, or anticipated, to serve a particular purpose. I am aware, Sir, that the civil list revenues have been increasing for many years. The mean annual produce for the last five years of George II. was 829,150*l.* and for the first six years of his present Majesty it would have been, had the establishment in the late reign continued, 894,000*l.* In 1775 it would have been 1,019,450*l.* Near 90,000*l.* *per annum* of

this great increase has been produced by an increase in the Post-Office revenue, occasioned chiefly by the late alteration in the manner of franking, and by the falling of the cross posts to the public by the death of Mr. Allen; but these profits would probably, at least certainly ought to have been reserved to the public, had the establishment in the late reign been continued. At the foot of one of the accounts on our table it is stated, "the amount of 800,000*l.* granted to his Majesty from the 25th of October 1760, to the 5th of January 1777, is 12,965,517*l.* 4*s.* 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* The produce as above exceeds the annuity by 2,381,241*l.* 9*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* But Parliament granted to pay off the civil list debt, on the 5th of January 1769, out of the supplies for the year 1769, 513,511*l.* which being deducted shews the gain to the public to be 1,867,730*l.* 9*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*" The bargain concluded for the public was of an annuity to the King of a clear 800,000*l.* subject to no deductions or contingencies, for his life, on a solemn promise of that being made to bear all the expences of the civil list, and the Royal Household. It was a fair compact of finance between the King and the subject, ratified by both parties. The most explicit assurances were given by the chancellor of the Exchequer, in the King's name, that no more should be asked, and that now his Majesty could never be under the disagreeable necessity of importuning this House with messages of personal concern.

I have, Sir, carefully examined the accounts laid before this House, by his Majesty's command, the eight folio books and the other papers, and I will venture to say they are as loose, unsatisfactory, perplexed and unintelligible as those delivered in by the noble Lord with the blue ribbon in 1770, a year after the former demand to pay the debts on the civil list, and more loose, unsatisfactory, perplexed and unintelligible no accounts can be. Their defectiveness and fallacy is highly culpable. The coming to Parliament with such a demand, but without any account whatever, was an insult to this House, and the laying before us such accounts as those on the table is a solemn mockery. Many gentlemen in the House declared last week their opinion, that, after the strictest examination, they could make nothing of those former accounts. It was not intended they should. One particular only fixed my attention as an individual. Under the head of secret and special services, I find that between October 1762, and October 1763, a most memorable year, there was issued to Samuel Martin, Esq; 41,000*l.* We have indeed,

deed, Sir, had a week allowed to go through these accounts, but I will venture to affirm that a year would not be sufficient to clear them from their studied perplexity, to give order and light to such a chaos. The most able accomptants do not pretend to understand them. They would puzzle a Demoivre. Ægyptian darkness hangs over the whole. There is not one friendly ray of light to lead us through this labyrinth.

No account, Sir, whatever is given Parliament of the other considerable revenues of the crown, besides the annuity of 800,000*l.* I do not mean the income of the Electorate of Hanover, or Bishopric of Osnabrug, but what his Majesty enjoys as King of England. That is a fair consideration with us, when the House are providing for the support of the lustre of the Crown, which I fear is at present a little tarnished. The extraordinary revenues of the Crown are, the revenues of Ireland, the Duchy of Cornwall, the land revenue within the Principality of Wales, the revenue of Gibraltar, American quit-rents, now generally lost, irredeemably lost, the Plantation duties of 4½*l. per cent.* from the Leeward Islands, fines, forfeitures, and many other particulars, which certainly carry the Royal income to much above one million a year. We may form some guesses from the grants we find made. From the revenue of the Duchy of Cornwall it appears that 17,000*l.* issued to Mr. Bradshaw in one year, and 11,000*l.* in another. From the 4½*l. per cent.* in 1769, for his Majesty's special service, 14,742*l.* to Sir Grey Cooper. In 1771 John Robinson, Esq; received 10,000*l.* of the Virginia quit-rents, the last payment I believe of that nature. Sir Grey Cooper in 1769 received 2144*l.* from the revenue of Gibraltar; and in 1765 13,804*l.* were issued thence for special service. Such copious streams must flow from rich and abundant fountains. The Plantation duties of 4½*l. per cent.* produced in 1753 27,377*l.* fines and forfeitures are a very considerable addition to the Royal revenue. I was plundered in one year of 1000*l.* in two fines, one of 500*l.* for a pretended libel, and another of the same sum, because I had a laughable poem locked up in my bureau, which administration hired a rascal of a servant to steal, and then contrived to have published.

The business of this day, Sir, is naturally branched out into two parts, which claim our attention. His Majesty's message points out both of them to us. The first is the outstanding debts, the second the increase of the establishment of the civil list.

Before

Before we proceed, Sir, to take into consideration the payment of the King's debts, we ought to know in what manner they have been contracted. The King has enjoyed the greatest unappropriated revenue of any Prince in Europe, and the expences of the whole Royal Family have never exceeded 160,000l. a year. A committee should be appointed for both the purposes mentioned, and papers very different from those before us, ought to be submitted to Parliament. It is impossible for us now even to guess from these accounts in what way so enormous debt as 618,340l. has been contracted, and that there should remain in cash in the Exchequer on the 5th of January last, only 35,640l. The Queen has indeed 50,000l. a year regularly paid; but the expence of the Prince of Wales and the Bishop of Osnabrug, is charged from 1769 to 1777, only 42,242l. Prince William Henry and Prince Edward, for the same period, 5017l. The King's message, Sir, leads us to consider the state of the Royal Family. His Majesty has two brothers, universally beloved by the nation. I find no trace of any debts contracted by the Crown on their account; no princely grants to either of the King's own brothers. As an Englishman, I regret the scantiness of their incomes. The Duke of Gloucester seems doomed to pass his life abroad; and it is certainly neither from choice, nor from the ill state of his health. The Duke of Cumberland is happier, and lives in England. He possesses all the virtues, and supports with dignity the rank of a private, benevolent, amiable nobleman. His income is by no means adequate to the splendour of a Prince of the blood, of a Prince of the blood so near to the King as his Majesty's own brother. How then, Sir, has this enormous debt been contracted? No outward magnificence has dazzled our eyes; no internal, domestic profusion has been imputed to the Lord Steward of the Household, who almost alone has continued in office this whole reign. We have scarcely the appearance of a court, even in the capital. Former Kings, with very inferior revenues, were generous and splendid, their courts pompous and brilliant. His Majesty's residence at Windsor the last summer did not quite revive all the ideas of the magnificence, and even hospitality of the Plantagenets, nor fully the glories of our Henries and Edwards. No stately buildings, or proud palaces, no imperial works, and worthy Kings, have excited our wonder, or called foreigners from the continent to our island to admire our taste and magnificence. An honourable gentleman,
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Sir, tells us of the King's houses. The former King's of England, Sir, lived in palaces, not in houses. His Majesty has not yet had a Scottish rebellion to quell. The Royal revenues have not been expended against the Scots, but surrendered up to them, an idea little suspected by the people of England, when they gave at first with such a liberal and even prodigal hand. How then, Sir, has this debt been contracted? There are no outward and visible signs of grandeur and expence. I will tell the House what is said without doors, what the nation generally suspects, and therefore it becomes our duty to investigate. The nation, Sir, suspects that the majorities in Parliament are bought by these very grants; that in one instance we attend to the evangelical precept, *give, and it shall be given unto you*, and that the Crown has made a purchase of this House with the money of the people. Hence the ready, tame, and servile compliance to every Royal edict issued by the minister. Inward corruption is the canker, which gnaws the vitals of Parliament. It is almost universally believed, Sir, that the debt has been contracted in corrupting the representatives of the people, and that this public plunder has been divided among the majority of this House, which is allowed to be the most corrupt assembly in Europe, while the honest and fair creditors of the Crown have been reduced to the greatest distress. Compassion for them is only made the pretext of the present message. This, Sir, is a fit object of Parliamentary enquiry.

The alarm was spread through the country. The charge is taken up by almost every independent man in the kingdom. It is asked, did the last Parliamentary grant of 513,511*l.* so lately as 1769, to pay the King's debts, give satisfaction to the honest tradesmen and inferior dependents of the Crown, or was it diverted another way? The majority of this House, Sir, ought not to lie under this suspicion, nor will they, if they are innocent. They ought likewise to vindicate the honour of our Sovereign from the foul suspicions which are gone abroad. A heavier accusation can scarcely be brought. Mr. Locke, Sir, in the chapter On the Dissolution of Government, says, "He (the supreme executor) acts contrary to his trust, when he either employs the force, treasure, and offices of the society, to corrupt the representatives, and gain them to his purposes, or openly pre-engages the electors, and prescribes to their choice, such, whom he has by solicitations, threats, promises, or otherwise won to his designs; and employs them to bring in such, who have promised before-hand

what to vote, and what to enact." What, Sir, was the case of Hine's patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, publicly sold, and the money given, not to a needy public, but to General Burgoyne, to reimburse him the expences of the Preston election, and the subsequent prosecution and fine of 1000*l.* by a court of law, for the outrages committed in Lancashire against the sacred rights of election? That instance alone merited an impeachment from Parliament against the profligate minister of that day.

If there is, Sir, a spark of virtue left among us, we cannot sit down contented with such loose general accounts, that secret and special service, the privy purse, treasurer of the chamber, the cofferer of the household, Royal bounties, pensions and annuities, should swallow up almost the whole civil list. There is a general charge of pensions to the amount of above 438,000*l.* The pension list is the great grievance. From 1769 to 1777, there is a single line of 171,000*l.* secret and special service issued to Sir Grey Cooper. In the same period, under the same article, 114,000*l.* to John Robinson, Esq; exclusive of enormous sums on the same heads to the secretaries of state, and the secretary of the Post-Office, generally in one short, single line. When we know, Sir, what prosecutions have been carried on, an article of 60,000*l.* in one year, as law charges, ought to alarm us no less for the liberty of the press, than the private property of individuals by unfounded claims of the Crown. Under the head of contingencies of divers natures, we are lost and bewildered in a rambling account, of which it is impossible to guess the least particular. We find Messieurs Amyand and Siebel receive 38,692*l.* to pay bills of exchange: and in another line, Thomas Pratt, Esq; 8139*l.* to pay another bill of exchange. For what purpose? Such accounts, Sir, are only calculated for such a servile Parliament. Pensions, annuities, and royal bounties, shall with much caution be touched by me, even in this House. One word only of literary patronage, as it seems to be a favourite subject. We are, Sir, hourly told, that genius and learning are now fostered by the propitious beams of Royal favour, and all the polite arts encouraged and patronized. I shall just mention a specimen of the choice made of literary pensioners, with a slight animadversion on the apparent absurdity of four literary pensions. The two famous Doctors Shebbeare and Johnson, are pensioners. The piety of our Sovereign to the memory of his grandfather, as well as gratitude to that of our glorious

ous deliverer, should surely, Sir, have prevented the names of these two Doctors from disgracing a civil list, which both of them had repeatedly and publicly declared the King's family had no right to, but they considered as a flagrant usurpation. These two Doctors have in their writings treated the late King, and King William, with the utmost virulence and scurrility, and they are the known pensioned advocates of despotism. The two other instances are ridiculous enough! David Hume was pensioned in this pious reign for attacking the Christian religion; and Dr. Beattie for answering him. In this manner is the public treasure lavished; but these I own, are mean objects, and of trifling concern. The great mass of the debt remains unaccounted for, and is suspected to be contracted for the most criminal purposes. It is necessary to satisfy the people that the enquiry should be made; and therefore I hope the House will instruct the committee to that purpose.

Let me now, Sir, suppose, that Parliament acquiesces with the present claim, what chearful ray of future hope have we to comfort us that future demands will not succeed? Will this be the last Court job, even of the present minister? No assurances whatever are given, not a hint of œconomy, or frugal management, or the least care of the public treasure in future. Surely such a mode of proceeding is highly unbecoming, indecent, and contemptuous. May I, Sir, pass the invidious streights of Calais, and consider the state of the neighbouring monarchy with respect to the King's household and debts? By two new edicts for the regulation of the King's household expences, of pensions, and royal bounties, all arrears are to be discharged within six years, and a fixed resolution is declared *pour concilier avec une sage économie les dépenses que l'éclat de sa couronne peut exiger*. From the first of last January all future expences whatever respecting the household are to be paid in the course of the current year. The very first article is, “l'année révolue de toutes les dépenses de la maison du Roi, tant par entreprises que par fournitures, fera à l'avenir payée comptant au trésor royal, dans le courant de l'année suivante, à raison d'un douzième par mois.” Would to God, Sir, such a spirit of justice and reformation crossed the channel to this capital! We alas! have not a gleam of hope of any reformation. The French King, Sir, has likewise two brothers, Monsieur and the Comte d'Artois. They have found in their Sovereign an affectionate and generous brother, not a gloomy tyrant, like—Louis the XIth.

They are a united and happy family. What the King has given them in important grants, and *en apanage*, as it is called, enables them to support with *eclat* their high rank. The new regulations of the French King's household expences and debts are founded in justice, and are no extraordinary burden on the people. The first Prince of the Hanover line observed the same conduct; for the message of George I. to this House of July 11, 1721, is that "being resolved to cause a retrenchment to be made of his civil list expences for the future, and finding that such a retrenchment cannot well be effected, without discharging the present arrears, his Majesty has ordered the accounts thereof to be laid before the House, and hopes he may be empowered to raise ready money for that purpose, on the civil list revenues; which, to avoid the laying any new burden on his people, his Majesty proposes shall be replaced to the civil list, and reimbursed, by a deduction to be made out of the salaries and wages of all offices, and the pensions, and other payments, from the Crown." The prostitute Parliament of 1769 gave the money out of the current expences of the year, without a line of any account.

When we are repeatedly told, Sir, of the present splendor of the British diadem, of the extent of our empire, and the greatness of the Sovereign, I own the diminished rays of the Crown occur to my painful imagination. It brings to my recollection what was said of Philip the Fourth of Spain, when Louis XIV. was taking all the towns, one after another, in the Netherlands, "*Sa grandeur est comme celle des fossés, à proportion des terres, qu'on leur ôte.*"

The noble Lord near me, [Lord John Cavendish] has said, that he wished a strict review of the whole establishment of the Crown, as to the civil list. I perfectly approve the idea. Almost the whole requires a new regulation. I think the judges in particular ought not to be paid out of the civil list, but by the public. They cannot be now displaced, but they may be starved by the Crown. The spirit of their independence ought to extend as well to their salaries, as to their commissions. I observe, Sir, in the civil list accounts on the table, an article, "Lord Howe and Sir William Howe commissioners for restoring peace in America 100l. per week each, arrears 1742l." The noble Lord with the blue ribbon has just called them ambassadors. Have we then already acknowledged the united colonies of America as a sovereign state, like the united provinces of Holland? If we have not, the event

event must happen. The peaceful mode adopted by the two brothers, according to my calculation, will not soon restore peace in America, but it will possibly be the period of the Trojan war, ten years at least, so that we may compliment the Howe family with above 100,000*l.* free gift, at the rate of 100*l.* per week each brother, besides settled pay, as officers. But, Sir, what connection has such an article as this with the civil list, with his Majesty's household?

Let us not now, Sir, rashly proceed in the iniquitous method of deciding on these two important questions, the expenditure, and the increase of the civil list, without hearing the evidence, or hearing it only in part. We have not sufficient *data* to proceed. By such injustice we lost America. We proscribed the inhabitants of Boston without hearing them, and in the same manner adopted coercive and sanguinary measures against the other colonies. Let us not now advance a single step but with caution, with fear, and trembling. We are asked to furnish the ministers with weapons, which may be employed to our own destruction, against the liberties of our country. An increased undue influence must necessarily be created, and the over-grown power of the Crown enlarged. They only want what are called the sinews of war. The doctrine is now avowed of the legality of introducing foreign troops into the British dominions. The minister has the power of the purse, and therefore of the sword. How many nations have totally lost their liberties by internal corruption, and by mercenary armies? There is an affected false alarm about faction and civil discord, but it is well known that civil dissensions have often been even favourable to freedom. Montesquieu observes of England, “*On voit la liberté sortir sans cesse des feux de la discorde et de la sédition, le Prince toujours chancelant sur un trône inébranlable.*”

I desire, Sir. to submit to the noble Lord near me [Lord John Cavendish] whether, in point of form and precedent, instead of discharging the order for referring the King's message to the committee of supply, which his Lordship has moved, it would not be more proper to instruct the committee on the two important points of the message, the paying his Majesty's debts, and the addition to the standing revenue of the Crown. If his Lordship and the House adopt that mode, I shall then move, “that it be an instruction to the said committee, that, before they proceed to consider of his Majesty's most gracious message, they do consider of the causes of the debts due on account of the civil list, and likewise

likewise what further provision may be necessary to support the splendor and dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain."

Mr. Byng.

Mr. Byng. If I am under the necessity of continuing to confess my inability to understand the accounts, still more do I feel myself at a loss to comprehend the arguments of the noble Lord; who has asserted that upon the face of the account there is a diminution of 100,000*l.* in the expences of the last eight years; and yet he concludes with a demand of 100,000*l.* more; that the expences have gradually diminished, yet the demand increases with the diminution of expence, and the future revenue is to rise beyond the average of the last eight years. The medium is under eighty, but the demand is one hundred thousand pounds a year; the noble Lord claiming a merit at the same time of a reduction within the four last years, even to that average, and confessing they might still be retrenched. No benefit is to arise to the public from the savings, as if the possibility of saving was the argument for an enlarged revenue.

Sir, this awakens my suspicions more particularly, when I observe, the exceeding of one hundred and one thousand pounds in the article of secret service money, and the pensions having risen from 192,000*l.* to 269,000*l.* I speak of those only paid by the secretary of the treasury; which articles I wish strictly to examine; by no means repining at the fair, open, and visible expences of the Crown; and when the noble Lord tells us, that there are more tables kept at St. James's, I will freely answer him, I wish there were more still, as we are all equally interested in the support of the dignity and grandeur of the Crown. Nor do I mean to arraign all secret service money, nor all pensions. A commander in chief must procure intelligence by money; there is a necessity for allowing it to a secretary of state; but in the hands of a secretary of the treasury it is truly dangerous. Pensions to individuals in reward for services performed, confer equal credit on the donor and receiver; but pensions paid by a secretary of the treasury to we know not whom, and we know not for what, threatens the constitution, and ought to alarm this House. But to talk of accounts is become truly ridiculous. You addressed for the proper officers to lay the accounts before you; and what was the answer? Sir, I will read you from the journals, a memorandum at the bottom of the main account.

"The deputy auditor of the Exchequer having repeatedly declared the impossibility of making out an account of the civil

civil list expences, which incurred and became due at that office for above eight years; therefore the Lords of the treasury directed that the same should be made out in the best manner possible from the entries in the treasury books.

“ The treasurer of the chamber, having informed their Lordships that, from want of materials in his office, no account can be made up of the charge during the same time, the above charge inserted in this account, is therefore the amount of the several sums craved by the then treasurers of the chamber for those years, and which were actually paid upon their memorials to the treasury.

“ The master of the horse not having any accounts in his office, to enable him to make out the charge there, the same hath been done in respect to the expence of that office, as in that of the treasurer of the chamber. The other charges are taken from the accounts transmitted to the treasury from the several other offices abovementioned.

“ As it impossible to make an annual account from the 1st of January to the 31st of January, therefore this account is made for eight compleat years, commencing the 1st of January, 1761.”

You may by this see the effects of your application. All tell you of the impossibility to give you an account, for all are equally unable or unwilling to give you a full, fair, and satisfactory account. The treasury call on them likewise, but for once call in vain, and then that treasury that has expended the secret service money, that has paid the secret pensions, gives you such accounts as best suits their pleasure; then can there be, Sir, a wonder that the accounts are deemed by all unintelligible?

Lord *North* rose in reply to the two honourable gentlemen *Ld. North*. who spoke last. He contradicted several of the facts, and controverted several of the deductions drawn and stated by each of them. He contended from the premises, he laid down, that the late King's revenue, including the 450,000l. granted by Parliament to him in 1747, exceeded the average income received by his present Majesty, since his accession, even taking in the 513,000l. given by Parliament in 1769; and if the encreased value of the necessaries and luxuries of life, and other domestic circumstances were taken into the account, he insisted, that 900,000l. a year, at present, was not equal to 800,000l. about the year 1742 or 1743, the period at which the average expenditure of George the Second should be struck. He saw several gentlemen present, who remember

remember how much more valuable money was thirty-five years ago than now; and he trusted to their candour, and that of every gentleman who heard him, to form an equitable estimate in his own mind of what would be a proportionate augmentation to the encrease of expenditure, arising from an encrease of the necessaries of life. His Lordship presumed, that the honourable gentleman [Mr. Wilkes] when he supposed that the majorities in that House were created by the encreased influence of the Crown, did not mean to conclude, that each individual who composed those majorities was bribed or influenced in the vote he gave. That, he would venture to say, was not the intention of the honourable gentleman: such a proposition maintained without reserve, would cut up by the roots all pretensions to free enquiry, or conduct arising from opinion. The honourable gentleman thought differently from him; that was no just foundation for charging the honourable gentleman with being influenced by improper motives. On the other hand, he, and those who thought with him, might act upon principle, and not, as the honourable gentleman termed it, be influenced by a temporary pension. As to the objection urged so warmly against the account relative to the disbursements in the office of the Treasurer of the Chamber, not being accompanied with vouchers in one period, nor even the sums specified during another period; that he said might be explained satisfactorily, by repeating a single fact, which was, that his predecessors in office had taken away all the papers, which contained the information now so earnestly sought. So the case stood, particularly as to that of the Master of the Horse, and so in every other instance, in every other account, as far as the objection could be fairly maintained or supported. On the whole, therefore, the charge of the accounts being defective, mutilated, or imperfect, must fall to the ground. The Treasury had taken all possible pains, and used all the industry in their power to satisfy the House. They had ordered the books to be minutely examined, and the warrants to be compared with the books. If some of the vouchers were mislaid, lost, or taken away, the Treasury-board could not be blamed. They looked for every necessary document that seemed necessary to explain the account; they produced such as they could obtain; and if any were wanting, no blame lay on the board; for they had exerted themselves to procure a satisfactory account, and if they failed in any particular to afford

ford that satisfaction they were so desirous of giving, they had faithfully discharged their duty ; for they had given the best account the nature of the expenditure, and the manner of keeping the accounts, would admit of.

Mr. *Burke* was severe upon the noble Lord who spoke last. *Mr. Burke.* He said, that the time of bringing in this demand was full of indecency and impropriety ; that when we were going to tax every gentleman's house in England, even to the smallest domestic accommodation, and to accumulate burthen upon burthen, nothing but a confidence in the servility of the House, and an experience in our carelessness, with regard to all affairs, could make the ministry desperate enough to tell us, 'tis in such a time we had not provided sufficiently for the splendour of the crown. That the main argument on which the demand stood, was the experience of the whole reign, that 800,000*l.* was not sufficient for the civil list expences. To this ground of argument he objected ; because if it were once admitted, the propriety of every man's practice would be judged by the practice itself ; a man's extravagance would become the measure of his supply, and because he had actually spent a great deal, he ought in reason to be furnished with a great deal to spend. That this would be to establish a principle of public profusion, which could never cease to operate, whilst we had a shilling to spend. That it would even make it the interest of ministers to be prodigal, since their extravagance, instead of lessening their income, would be the certain means of increasing their estate.

Having refuted this kind of argument ; taking for granted the very point in question, which was, whether the ministers had managed well or ill ; whether they had incurred the debt properly or improperly, he said, that the only way of judging of this matter, was to proceed as wise men ought to do in all their private affairs, viz. to try whether the object obtained was equal to the consideration paid.

The object to be obtained was the royal dignity, the consideration paid was 800,000*l.* a year. The sum has been paid ; has the object been attained ? Is the court great, splendid, and magnificent ? To know whether the royal dignity might have been attained for that sum, and to discover whether the not obtaining it was owing to the scantiness of the supply, and not to the mismanagement of what was given, it was proper to see how other kings had maintained the royal dignity ; what their charge, and what their incomes were. For this purpose, he took a comparative view of the income

style of living of his present Majesty, and King George the Second, and of King William. That George the Second had a more extensive family for a great part of his reign; that his income was not larger, nor so large, as that of the present King; that he appeared in a more princely manner than the ministers suffered the present King to live. That King William had but 700,000*l.* a year, yet that all his expences were great and royal; and if it should be objected, that all means of living in splendour were cheaper in that age, he answered, first by doubting the fact, and saying, that though some of the same articles might be cheaper, others were much dearer. Next he said, that this argument of the price of things could serve no purpose in the present question, because King William not only did more, but paid more; that his charges in all articles, in which royal dignity properly consists, were higher than the correspondent articles of the King's expences; larger not only in effect but in account. That King William was censured for being expensive; he was so; but he was magnificent. He attained his object, which appeared in the number and stateliness of his buildings, his furniture, pictures, &c. &c. King George the Second was accused of parsimony, not wholly without reason; but he attained his object, he was rich. His present Majesty, to whom no one imputes either extravagance or penury, is, by the mismanagement of his ministers, neither magnificent nor wealthy. That King William's magnificence was useful to the public; it added to the splendour of the crown and the dignity of the nation, and we have the monuments of it still. King George the Second's œconomy added 170,000*l.* into his Majesty's civil list at his accession. He did more and better. King George the Second maintained a year's war in Germany, against the whole power of France, in a quarrel wholly British, at his own expence. He spent about a million sterling for this nation, and after all he died not poor, but left a large sum, besides a surplus of civil list cash to his present Majesty.

From all these circumstances he concluded, that the debt incurred could not be for the royal dignity, but in ways not fit to be avowed by ministry, and therefore very fit to be inquired into by this House. He dwelt long upon the above heads, on which, and other topics, as well in answer to the ministerial arguments, as shewing the ill consequence of payments of all debts on the proof of their mere existence.

Mr.

Right hon. *G. Rice* explained what had been mentioned *Mr. Rice.* by Lord North, relative to his predecessors in office taking the papers away, which were necessary to vouch the first four years of the accounts which came from the office of the Treasurer of the Chamber. He said, the warrants from the Treasury, with the accounts of sums issued, were vouchers sufficient to shew the faithful disposition of the money. That, allowing some of the articles in the account did not appear so well authenticated as could be wished, or that a saving might be made; in either event, it would be proper to go into the committee, because he believed no gentleman present would say, that the King's debts ought not to be paid; they were the debts of the public, and no matter how they were incurred, they must be paid by the public; and if the motion for discharging the order, was intended to make way for a committee of enquiry, that committee might be moved after the committee of supply had come to the first resolution, to discharge the debt already incurred. He affirmed, from his own knowledge, and by every thing he could learn from others, that all possible frugality had been practised, in every branch of expenditure of the civil list revenue; but that some of them were notwithstanding on the increase, and were likely to augment instead of diminish; and if to this were added, a numerous increasing family, several of whom, in a series of a few years, would call for separate establishments, he did not see how the House could, with any degree of consistency, or regard for the honour and dignity of the Crown, refuse the augmentation, which he understood it was the intention of the ministers to ask. The papers on the table already shewed, that the average expence of maintaining the household, and defraying the expences of the civil government, was, on an average, since the present accession, about 870,000*l.* a year; and that the amount of the duties relinquished by his Majesty, at that period, was pretty nearly equal to the expenditure; that probably those duties would still continue to increase; so that taking the matter in either a retrospective view, or in its consequences, the nation, though the revenue should be augmented 100,000*l.* would, on the whole, be found to be no loser.

Mr. Adam spoke next. He very sincerely regretted our *Mr. Adam.* present situation, but did not agree with the honourable gentleman [*Mr. B.*] that it was a sufficient reason against the motion. But on the contrary, that rendering our Sovereign respectable, might prove a means of relieving us from that

situation, as it must give an idea of the vigour and resources of this country, which could not fail to have a tendency to prevent hostile attempts upon the part of our enemies, and strike the minds of our revolted colonies with terror. And it must therefore prove a salutary measure, even in this moment of distress, to discharge the arrears upon the civil list.

With regard to encreasing the revenue he took it for granted, that the only objection to it was, that by putting too much power into the hands of the Crown it might endanger the liberty of the subject, and be prejudicial to our national happiness. That one great ingredient in the happiness of a nation, was the respect it held as a nation. That it yielded to internal freedom alone, and that this latter blessing gained additional value as the means of procuring the former. That in order to secure that respect which rested upon national independence as its basis, no necessity should be created that could make it desirable in any degree to barter that independence for a temporary ease and advantage. That such necessity had in former times suggested to Charles the Second his dangerous connections with France, the ignominy and disgrace of which might have been saved had his Parliament been less rigidly parsimonious. That the eminent virtues of our present Monarch happily secured us from every such idea, so far as it depended upon his steady and earnest desire to maintain our respect and independence: but we could not always depend upon the minister who might have the immediate management of affairs. To secure us therefore against the machinations of wicked ministers, we should render the private revenue of the Crown equal to its necessities. Mr. Adam, when he said this, did not mean to assert any thing prejudicial to the honor of the present minister. That he had upon former occasions animadverted upon the conduct of the noble Lord: that they were public animadversions upon a public conduct, which he made because he felt them just, and which he would never hesitate to repeat when similar circumstances should produce a similar conduct: but that his character appeared at present in another point of view; and he was convinced, that the noble Lord was too much a gentleman, and too much an Englishman, to entertain any idea prejudicial to the independence and respect of this country: but that we were not always to see the noble Lord in the place he now filled; and when another should come without the same virtue, and the same talents, we might see the disgraceful days of Charles the Second renewed,
and

and another Dunkirk sold to relieve the embarrassments of a scanty revenue.

He next stated an opinion which he professed had at first sight a paradoxical appearance, but he thought the paradox would vanish upon a state of the argument. It was that encreasing the revenue of the civil list would add security to the liberty of the subject. That prerogative having been done away at the Revolution, influence, it was now thought, had taken its place, and was the disease which threatened our constitution. The way therefore to prevent the evils of influence, was to keep it from acting, or allowing it to act in as few instances as possible. If we could prevent its operation in ten instances, by admitting it in one, we might by this means avert the blow, and perhaps destroy the disease that threatened our liberty. It was therefore better to give an adequate revenue to the Crown, than to suffer repeated applications to Parliament for the payment of arrears; which by being repeated every two or three years, would make the importance of the grant dwindle into the same insignificance that attended the common and most trivial operations of Parliament; and that this day would cease to be, as it now was, a day of terror to the minister. He said, there was a great and marked distinction to be attended to in this argument, between the civil list or revenue of the Crown, and the revenue of Parliament. That distinctions of this nature were essential to the existence of the constitution, as they steered us between the horrors of despotism on the one hand, and the evils of a republic on the other. That the first revenue was subject of calculation, and an adequate sum ought to be fixed, that applications for arrears might be avoided. That the other could not be matter of calculation, at any distant period of time, as it altered with the necessity of the times. Besides it was that revenue which supported our fleet, maintained our army, paid the interest of our national debt, the revenue upon which our liberty, dignity, and independence rested. That if any minister should dare to encourage an idea that could render that revenue independent of Parliament, no punishment could be too bad for his crime. He then shewed that this distinction had been recognized at the Revolution, and entered into a history of the civil list from that period downwards, to prove that to agree with the motion of the day, was to follow out the idea of the revolutionists: and concluded, by saying, that if our national respect was to be preserved, and our internal freedom to be

rendered more secure by an addition to the revenue of the Crown, we ought chearfully to unite in a measure that would give comfort and dignity to a Prince so highly virtuous and respectable.

Mr. Townshend.

Right hon. *T. Townshend* assured Mr. Adam that he had too much respect for his person and his talents to presume to treat his arguments with ridicule or with levity. He hoped, however, that his expressing his surprise at the novelty of the arguments would not be construed into disrespect : and if, upon his bare recital of them, the House should receive them the second time in the same manner as they had done the first, he trusted that reception would not be attributed to any levity in the person who repeated them. He owned that his dull imagination would never have enabled him to conceive that a time when you were engaged in an enormously expensive war, was the hour of all others the most proper to give away a large sum of public money ; or that such a conduct would impress your enemies with fear, and that such profusion would give them a higher opinion either of your strength or of your wisdom.

He could not help arguing with the honourable gentleman in his apprehensions of the increase of the influence of the Crown. He thought with him, that it threatened the annihilation of any balance or proportion between the different branches of the legislature. But he had always supposed that influence to arise from the great revenues and great emoluments which were in the disposal of the Crown. He therefore imagined, that an increase of influence, rather than a decrease of it, was likely to be the consequence of an increase of those revenues. He was so bigotted to these opinions, that he had found himself inclined to doubt, for once, the solidity of the reasoning of the honourable gentleman. He could not help thinking that his talents had a little failed him. He was at first at a loss to what cause he should attribute it, but recollecting the warm and enthusiastic terms in which the honourable gentleman mentioned a lately deceased, learned, and ingenious author [Mr. Hume] he could not help thinking that the gentleman was ambitious of being thought the boldest disciple of that great master of paradox ; and nobody, indeed, could justly deny him the honour to which he aspired. His arguments had the merit of being new and ingenious, but yet they did not seem likely to make any converts. Paradoxical they might be, but they did not equal or come near the extravagance of an assertion which he was sorry to hear fall from his

his honourable friend [Mr. Rice] who had spoken the last but one, "that the debts of the Crown were the debts of the public, and however incurred, must be paid by the public." If this doctrine were true, what had the House more to do, than to come at once to the vote? No one that walked the streets could doubt the existence of such a debt, and whether it was produced by necessity or by the most scandalous profusion, was an object above their consideration. The ministers of the Crown had incurred the debt; the representatives of the people were under an obligation to pay it out of the purse of their constituents. He could not, however, persuade himself that, upon recollection, his honourable friend would continue to support that position: and indeed he thought he perceived by his countenance that he wished to retract it; he therefore would dwell no longer upon so disagreeable a subject.

He then proceeded to consider the motion itself as made by Lord John Cavendish, which he said, would be found to be the constant practice of the House on messages of this kind, except in the precedent of the year 1769, when the message was at once referred to the committee of supply. He thought there could be no suspicion of a want of respect for the Crown, in following the former precedents, which had an appearance more becoming Parliament, as they implied a desire to examine into the causes of the debt. The mode proposed at present was to pay the debt, and increase the revenue without any such investigation. That he dreaded the principle upon which we were going to increase the civil list more than the vote itself. For it was assumed, that the revenues applicable to the late king's civil list being improved, the King had a right to what was called an indemnification for what his Majesty had casually lost, by accepting of the annuity of 800000*l*. Now he did not conceive that it could be supposed that those duties having been given upon a supposition that they would amount to 800000*l*. a year, or thereabouts, the Crown had a right to the further amount of them, let them increase ever so much. That this argument was still more extraordinary when we considered, that one of them, if not more, had been increased by acts of parliament subsequent to the civil list act. The revenue he alluded to was that of the post office, which was improved by the restraining the privilege of franking. According to that principle the people were to pay the Crown for the additional burthens that has been laid upon themselves. He was not sure that there had not been more alterations

tions in other revenues, which were formerly appropriated to the King's civil list : if there were, the same argument would apply to them.

Another branch which had increased of late years was the seizure of uncustomed goods. He was at a loss to know how to account for that increase. Smuggling, to be sure, is of late years much increased, to a very dangerous height : but as the public lose a great deal more by the customs being defrauded by the smuggler, than they get by the seizures, he could not think it very just that they should pay for that loss.

This matter would have been easier to ascertain, if the account of the amount of the duties formerly applicable to the civil list, had not been made up in a very extraordinary manner : and what is more extraordinary, is, that pains must have been taken to make it unintelligible.

In the year 1726 those accounts were produced to shew the amount, and likewise the deficiencies of those duties ; every branch of revenue was thus stated separate, as it was received from the office of customs, excise, post office, exchequer, &c. but in the present instance all those branches were lumped together, and set down without distinction in one column. The sums given by different acts of parliament, and which must always be the same in every year, were indeed separated into four columns ; by this means all investigation of the separate articles of the duties was carefully prevented : and if it was not for that purpose, that the account was made up in this whimsical manner, it was not easy to assign the true reason.

He then observed upon the applications to Parliament, on account of the civil list, in the reigns of Queen Anne, King George the First, and King George the Second.

As to Queen Anne, when it was considered that she had contributed 100,000*l.* a year out of her civil list, to the expence of the war, as well as that the Parliament had diverted some of the civil list revenues to public services, it was unnecessary to say how just a claim that princess had to the assistance of the public.

In King George the First's time, it is sufficient to say, that after various endeavours of his Majesty to extricate himself from the debts of the civil list, that purpose was accomplished without any additional burthens being laid upon the public. The grants to the London Assurance and and Royal Exchange companies, raised 300,000*l.* The civil list bore the weight of the rest of its own debt.

He

He was surprised to have heard it asserted, that the debts of the civil list had been paid by Parliament in the reign of King George the Second. His late Majesty had, indeed, two sums granted him by Parliament, upon the account of the civil list; 115,000*l.* in 1729, and 456,733*l.* in 1747.

The first sum was granted upon account of the *arrears* of the civil list revenues, and was to be replaced at his demise out of the out-standing arrears of those revenues; if those arrears, together with the 115,000*l.* should be more than sufficient to make up the produce of the said revenues, 800,000*l.* a year for his Majesty's reign. That sum was accordingly replaced to the public, at his Majesty's death, out of those arrears.

The second sum of 456,733*l.* was the deficiency of the civil list duties for the seven years preceding the year 1747. To this the King had a strict legal right, by the civil list act passed the first year of his reign.

In neither of these cases was the civil list debt laid before the House. The King asked for no benevolence from his Parliament, but strict justice. In fact, the civil list was in 1747 in debt very near 200,000*l.* more than the sum voted by Parliament; but for that his Majesty thought he had no claim upon his people. It is observable, that from that period to the resignation or dismissal of the Duke of Newcastle, the payments of the civil list were never six weeks in arrear. After that noble Duke's dismissal, there was great talk of *œconomy*, but practice did not keep pace with professions; if we except the lord steward of the household, upon whom much unjust censure has been passed: he professed *œconomy*, and practised it. In consequence of his reductions, the tables which remained were better served than they were before: many tables were abolished; but those for whom they were designed had board wages, by which they rather gained than lost, and a considerable saving was made for the King. Lord Talbot likewise did another thing, which he recommended to the imitation of others; he diminished, indeed, his own patronage by it, which might be held as an objection to the practice, but he made a considerable saving, by striking off useless places; the persons who lost them were placed upon the King's bounty list, and succeeded to other employments upon vacancies. But while Lord Talbot was striking off places of two or three hundred pounds a year at one end of the palace, at another, new places and pensions of

500l. 1000l. or perhaps 2000l. a year were added to the civil establishment. From this source rose originally the debt of the civil list, joined to the necessary expences of coronation jewels, funerals, and marriages of the royal family.

During the period of the first eight years of the reign, ministries were of so short a duration, that it was impossible for any one minister to make the necessary reductions after the debt was once incurred. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon was the first who had it in his power; he has been seven years at the head of the treasury. Great additions have been made to the royal income, by the deaths of the Princess of Wales, Dukes of York and Cumberland, and other branches of the royal family.

His Majesty, at the beginning of his reign, paid 157,000l. a year to the different branches of his family: his royal predecessor paid, for the greatest part of his reign, from 130,000l. to 140,000l. a year, and besides kept tables at St. James's for many of them and their attendants. His late Majesty, during the life of Queen Caroline, lived in splendour in the summer at Hampton-court or Windsor, and since her Majesty's death, at Kensington.

Upon the papers upon the table, he had few remarks to make. The noble Lord had declared, that none of the expences were incurred for the sake of influence. Another gentleman had mentioned the period of Sir Robert Walpole's administration, as a time when that evil existed in a much greater degree than at present. Mr. T. differed widely from the latter: he believed, that when that gentleman considered the vast increase of all our establishments, army, navy, ordnance, &c. the increase of our possessions in every part of the world; the numerous and advantageous contracts under government; the patronage which ministers have gained, through the medium of the East India company; to which may be added, the increase of debt, and of officers in the collection of the revenue, he would be inclined to retract his opinion: perhaps he would join with him in thinking, that the influence of the crown was nearly *trebled* since the time of Sir Robert Walpole. He observed, upon a comparison of the suspicious articles of *pensions*, *annuities*, and *secret service*, in the last eight years of the late King, and the eight years in which the *present debt has been incurred*, a considerable exceeding in the latter period.

Pen-

Pensions by the pay-master of pensions.

In the last eight years	-	-	£.	452,908
Last eight years of the late King	-	-		339,610
			Difference	113,298

Pensions and annuities paid at the exchequer.

In the last eight years	-	-		273,158
Last eight years of the late King	-	-		192,312
			Difference	80,846

Secret service.

In the last eight years	-	-		434,892
Last eight years of the late King	-	-		370,833
			Difference	63,559

Differences.

On pensions by the pay-master of ditto	-	-		113,298
Exchequer pensions and annuities	-	-		80,840
Secret service	-	-		63,559
			Total difference	257,703

It is observable, that the last eight years of the late King included the greatest part of the late glorious war, during which there certainly must have been occasion for no small sum of secret service money for purposes truly national.

If the noble Lord would set himself seriously to work at a reduction of expences, he was pretty confident, it might be effected without meddling with any thing, in which his Majesty's private ease and comfort, the dignity of the crown, or the service of the public were concerned. The foundation of his confidence was this; that Mr. Grenville, in office, as well as out of office, declared the 800,000*l.* to be sufficient. Being called upon to know if he intended to increase the civil list, that minister treated the report as a calumny. He said in the strongest terms, that while he continued minister, he never would ask for any augmentation, or for any sum on account of the civil list: perhaps that declaration might be among the reasons of his dismissal. The noble Lord chuses to avoid that consequence, and says, "God forbid that I should lose
N^a " my

“ my office.” When he is questioned upon the subject of the increase of expence of the civil list, he answers undoubtedly in a much more becoming manner than Mr. Grenville did, “ If you will contrive, that nobody shall be desirous of places and pensions, I will cease to lay burthens upon the public, “ to provide for suitors for places and pensions.” This answer never occurred to Mr. Grenville; perhaps it was not so well suited to those times, as to the present, any more than to the grave character of that minister.

Upon the whole, Mr. T. was of opinion, that resolving the House into a committee on the message, was a more parliamentary, and a properer, measure, than the referring the message to the committee of supply: that in the latter, the House could only consider of the sum to be voted; in the former, the whole question would be open to discussion. A very serious, and a very minute discussion, was necessary upon this occasion, and in times like these. The public burthens were increasing rapidly every day; the power of the crown gaining ground upon the people in the same proportion. Oeconomy, real oeconomy, by retrenchment of expences, was the only method by which those evils could be restrained. The noble Lord would, in a few weeks at farthest, call upon the members of this House, and upon every gentleman in England, to contract his expences; let him set us the example. In a committee upon the message, the House might see where savings might be made. If the noble Lord was serious in his intentions of lessening the expences of the crown, the authority of Parliament would strengthen his hands, and furnish him with a weighty answer to unreasonable solicitors. Mr. Grenville, whose memory the noble Lord sometimes affected to treat with veneration, was not more conspicuously serviceable to the public in any part of his character, than in the steadiness and perseverance with which he gave his negative to the importunate demands of rapacious and insatiable courtiers.

If the noble Lord was not sincere in his professions of oeconomy, the committee could, and ought to controul him. With the assistance of Parliament, an honest minister might do great good. Without Parliament thought this was an object of enquiry, he foresaw little good would be done. The principle upon which this sum, and the increase of the establishment were demanded, was a progressive one: he saw plainly, that in making this demand, a foundation was laid for making further applications. Parliament ought to be wilfully

fully blind upon no part of this business. He was afraid, that this branch of the legislature had been for some time declining in the opinion of the people. He, who wished it to resume its former lustre and importance, thought it could not seize upon a more favourable opportunity than the present. He thought no way could be more likely for them to regain the confidence of the nation, than by shewing themselves, what it was their right and their duty to be, the guardians of the purse of the public, and with it of the liberties of their country.

Mr. *Fox* closed the debate, and spoke for above an hour. After describing what he termed the wanton profusion of ministers for a series of years back, in the several great departments of the state, and the shameless prodigality which prevailed in the disposition of the revenues of the civil list, he predicted a day of reckoning, when probably ministers would not be permitted to pass such accounts, as those lying on the table. He told the House, that he should not go over the items that had been already mentioned; and to which, there had not as yet, even so much as the colour of an answer been given. There was one article however, which he could not pass over without mentioning; and presumed, it struck every gentleman present as well as himself with astonishment. It was the sum of 513,000*l.* stated under the head of the Board of Works, in the course of the last eight years, without telling to whom the money had been paid, on what account it had been paid, or on what palace, house, park, garden, or place, the money had been expended. He observed the conduct of the minister, in 1769, though the noble Lord now disclaimed the appellation, was much less reprehensible than now. He then acted openly, and came boldly to Parliament to demand a round sum, without account. "I want the money; I cannot wait; grant it now, and you shall have the account next year." On this occasion, Parliament had the option to grant or refuse; to take his word, or disbelieve it. New men, new measures; the noble Lord tells you this day, very gravely, that he was not then first minister; but that since, he has become one entirely on his own bottom; that accounts ought to precede the grant; but when the accounts come to be examined, what do they turn out? No accounts at all; but a detail of arbitrary sums, for ought we know, set down according to the fanciful ideas of several persons who wrote them; and all consolidated into one round sum, which we are called upon to grant out of the

the purses of our constituents, without being satisfied that a single item is fairly or perfectly stated; unless we trust to the integrity of ministers, and the fidelity of their subordinate instruments. Well, taking it for granted, that the sums are truly stated, why trouble the House with such an account at all, unless to add mockery to contempt, and blend insult with derision. When we had no account, we trusted to ministers. Now that we have an account, we are equally compelled to be satisfied with their bare word. So, that taking the matter in its true light, the present proposition is neither more nor less, than a demand the Minister makes on Parliament for 618,000*l.* which he says was expended in the public service; but of the reality of such expenditure, we properly know no more than we do of any sum of a like amount, expended by any Prince in Europe. We are precisely as well informed now how this debt was incurred, by the curious account now lying on that table, as we were in 1769, without any account. He next attacked Lord North on his denying he was Minister when he brought a like message, eight years since, and obtained the object of his errand. This he treated as the most shameful and barefaced evasion. He declared the sentiments of that administration, which from his post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, of which he formed a part, he stood therefore doubly bound, both as an individual, and a member of the cabinet. In the next place, as he was the bearer of the message, he stood pledged as the messenger, or the representative of the Sovereign. The message was to demand a certain sum of money to pay the King's debts; the condition that accompanied it, though not contained in the message, was, that no applications of a like nature would be made hereafter. Who was to impart them to the House? The bearer of the message, and no other. But, allowing that the noble Lord was neither bound, as a member of the cabinet, an individual, or messenger representing his Sovereign, he stood nevertheless in a mixt official and ministerial situation, from which it is impossible for him to recede; he came to Parliament, as the Minister of the House of Commons, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was responsible as Minister, for his ministerial assurances, as much then, as at present; and as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was bound by the nature of his office to know that his assurances were founded in truth. Take then the matter in the noble Lord's own way; does not he stand on the
the

the precise same ground he did then? Did he not come in 1769, as well as in 1777, as Minister of the House of Commons, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, not as first Lord of the Treasury, and Prime Minister? But convict the noble Lord on any or all of these grounds, and he still imagines he can evade his pursuers. He says he never gave any such promise. Will his Lordship rest his justification on that alone? If he does, I pledge myself to prove he did; if he will not, but will contend, that he is not bound in one event by a promise, which he denies in the other, I submit whether in the opinion of all indifferent and impartial men, the noble Lord, be not in fact convicted on both grounds. If however the noble Lord should still rest his defence, on his not being, responsible for any act of his, ministerial or official, he would nevertheless on the present occasion, out of regard to his own honour and character, recommend to his Lordship, to consent to the proposed Committee of Enquiry; because, if any malversation in office, any waste of public money should have happened, the blame would fall of course on his Lordship, as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Not supposing that there existed the least ground for any such imputation, he looked upon it to be peculiarly incumbent on his Lordship, to cheerfully go into an enquiry, which, he presumed, would turn out so much to his Lordship's honour. He perceived, he said, that the charge of Ambassadors was a very heavy one, besides Envoys and Ministers were sent to every petty state; he knew the disagreeable predicament, a Minister, willing to make a reform, would stand in, were he to attempt it on his own strength. It would be prodigious irksome to be obliged to say to a Secretary of State, who has so few appointments in his gift, "I must strike off such and such Envoys who are in your department, the state of the civil list requires it, &c." While, on the contrary, if a Parliamentary enquiry was set on foot, and arrangements made to take place in consequence of such enquiry, in order to reduce the expenditure, the blame would be shifted from the Minister, and the superfluous branches of the civil list might be pruned, or totally lopped off, without giving any direct offence to those who might, on the mere personal interference of the Minister, look upon themselves pointed at, and ill treated.

The question being put the House divided: Ayes 114, Noes 281.

The

The House then went into a Committee of supply, and came to the following resolutions :

That the sum of 618,340l. &c.

That 100,000l. per annum, &c.

An AUTHENTIC LIST of the MEMBERS of the HOUSE of COMMONS, who voted AGAINST the Motion for granting 620,000l. for payment of the KING'S DEBTS.

Bedfordshire.

Earl of Upper Ossory, Bedfordshire
Sir William Wake, Bedford Town

Berks.

Francis Annesley, Reading

Bucks.

Earl Verney, Buckinghamshire
James Grenville, Buckingham
Wm. Drake, Jun. Agmondesham

Cheshire.

J. Crewe

Cornwall.

Sir Wm. Lemon, Cornwall
Samuel Salt, Liskdare
G. Hunt, Bodmyn
Phil. Rashleigh, Fowey

Cumberland.

Henry Fletcher, Cumberland
Walt. Sp. Stanhope, Carlisle
James Adair, Cockermouth

Derbyshire.

Ld. Fred. Cavendish, Derby

Devonshire.

J. Parker, Devonshire
J. Rolle Walter, ditto
Sir G. Yonge, Honiton
Laur. Cox, ditto
Sir C. W. Bampfylde, Exeter

Dorsetshire.

Hump. Sturt, Dorsetshire
T. Coventry, Bridport
Rt. Hon. W. G. Hamilton, Ware-
ham
Jof. Mauger, Poole
H. W. Mortimer, Shaftesbury

Durham.

J. Tempest, Durham City

Yorkshire.

Sir G. Sivale, Yorkshire
Wm. Baker, Aldborough
Sir J. Pennyman, Beverley
G. F. Tufnell, ditto
Hon. L. T. Watson, Heydon
Ld. G. Hen. Cavendish, Knaref-
borough

Wm. Weddel, Malton

Savile Finch, ditto

Hen. Peirse, Northallerton

T. Frankland, Thirsk

Ld. J. Cavendish, York

Essex.

J. Luther, Essex

Gloucestershire.

Sir Wm. Guise, Gloucestershire
Sir Wm. Codrington, Tewkesbury
J. Martin, ditto

Herefordshire.

Sir G. Cornwall, Herefordshire

Hertfordshire.

Wm. Plummer, Hertfordshire
Tho. Halsey, ditto
J. Radcliffe, St. Albans

Kent.

Hon. C. Marsham, Kent
Rd. Milles, Canterbury

Lancashire.

Ld. Rd. Cavendish, Lancaster
Rd. Pennant, Liverpool

Leicestershire.

J. P. Hungerford, Leicestershire

Hon.

Hon. B. Grey, Leicester

Lincolnshire.

Ld. G. Sutton, Grantham

Ld. Lumley, Lincoln

Middlesex:

J. Wilkes, Middlesex

J. Glynn, ditto

J. Sawbridge, London

Rd. Oliver, ditto

Fred. Bull, ditto

G. Hayley, ditto

Norfolk.

Sir Ed. Aftley, Norfolk

T. W. Coke, ditto

Hon. T. Walpole, Lynn

Crisp. Molineux, ditto

Hon. Rd. Walpole, Yarmouth

Sir H. Harbord, Norwich

Northamptonshire.

T. Powys, Northamptonshire

Rd. Benyon, Peterborough

Hon. Wilb. Tollemache, North-

ampton

Sir G. Robinson, ditto

Fred. Montagu, Higham Ferrers

Northumberland.

Sir Wm. Middleton, Northum-

berland

Sir M. W. Ridley, Newcastle upon

Tyne

Jacob Wilkinson, Berwick

Nottinghamshire.

Sir C. Wray, Retford

G. Sutton, Newark

Oxfordshire.

Ld. Wenman, Oxfordshire

Shropshire.

Noel Hill, Shropshire

Wm. Pulteney, Shrewsbury

Tho. Whitmore, Bridgenorth

Somersetshire.

Alex. Popham, Taunton

J. Halliday, ditto

Hon. T. Luttrell, Milborne Port

VOL. VII.

Edmund Burke, Bristol

Hants:

Ld. Middleton, Whitchurch

Hon. J. Luttrell, Stockbridge

Staffordshire.

Geo. Adams Anson, Litchfield

Hugo Meynell, Stafford

Suffolk.

Sir G. W. Vanneck, Dunwich

T. Fonhereau, Aldborough

Sir C. Davers, Bury

Surrey.

Sir J. Mawby, Surrey

Sir Rt. Clayton, Blechingley

Fred. Standert, ditto.

Suffex.

C. Goring, Shoreham

Filmer Honeywood, Steyning

Thomas Hay, Lewes

Warwickshire.

T. G. Skipwith, Warwickshire

Sir C. Holte, Warwickshire

Westmoreland.

G. Johnstone, Appleby

Worcestershire.

Wm. Lygon, Worcestershire

Wilts.

C. Penruddock, Wilts

Amb. Goddard, ditto

Hon. W. Hen. Bouverie, Salisbury

Rt. Hon. Is. Barré, Calne

John Dunning, ditto

Hon. C. J. Fox, Malmesbury

Gen. A. Ashe, Heytesbury

Ld. G. Gordon, Luggershall

J. Cooper, Downton

Cinque Ports.

J. Trevannion, Dover

Wm. Nedham, Winchelsea

Wales.

T. A. Smith, Carnarvonshire

E. L. Vaughan, Merionethshire

Wm. Mostyn Owen, Montgome-

ryshire

O

Scotland

Scotland.

G. Dempster, Dundee, &c.

TELLERS.

Rt. Hon. T. Townshend, Whit-
church

Geo. Byng, Wigan,

Adjourned to April 18.

*Reasons of a Member of Parliament for voting against paying the
King's Debts a second time.*

To comprehend this question fully, it is necessary to take a summary view of the formation, rise, and progress of the civil list, as now established.

When the Crown possessed ample royal demesnes, it was usual to apply to the people for aids on extraordinary occasions only; but since by the dissipation of the royal revenues, the greatest part of these lands have been alienated; so that another mode of supply was practised for the support of the crown, and certain imposts and duties, denominated the civil list revenues, were from time to time settled on each of our sovereigns soon after their accession to the crown; these duties have been always calculated to amount to a certain sum, and Parliament accustomed to make up the deficiencies: this sum, before the reign of George II. was 700,000*l.* but in the first year after his accession, in consideration of his numerous royal family (many of whom were nearly marriageable) Parliament thought proper to augment this sum to 800,000*l.* *per annum*, in order to which they passed an act for granting a rent charge out of the Aggregate Fund of 120,000*l.** *per annum*, which was expected to make the old civil list duties answer that full sum, with a proviso, however, that if they fell short, Parliament would make up the deficiencies.

Anno 4 George II. it was thought proper to repeal certain duties on flax, for the encouragement of the British sail cloth, and a clause was inserted in this act for securing public creditors, by granting to them the amount of their respective demands on said duties out of the Aggregate fund, and since that time it appears there has been carried in account from that fund to the civil list 2125*l.* 15*s.* 2½*d.* *per annum*.

Anno 9 George II. it was thought proper for the benefit of trade, to repeal certain duties on low wines, and a clause in that act provides for public creditors, as in the former, and expressly states that his Majesty shall have 70,000*l.* *per annum*, in lieu of his demands.

* This sum of 120,000*l.* was added, because the old duties, tho' given for 700,000*l.* *per annum*, had never in reality amounted to that sum.

Again, the 12th of George II. certain duties on woollen and bays were repealed, on the same grounds, and a similar clause in this act too directs that the King, and all public creditors shall have a rent charge out of the aggregate fund, equivalent to their respective demands, on an average of eight years past, and on this account an annual sum of 2388l. 4s. 11d. has been also carried to the civil list.

Anno 30 George II. Parliament on a similar account gave the Crown a rent charge on the wine licence duties of 7002l. 14s. 3d. all which sums together amount to 201516l. 14s. 4½d. *per annum*.

The remaining civil list duties commonly called the hereditary and temporary revenue from his Majesty's accession to the 5th of January, 1762, amounted to 645,844l. 0s. 11¼d. which is equal to 538,203l. 7s. 6d *per annum*, to which if the former grants and regulations already specified are added, it gives the full amount of the civil list revenues equal to 739,720l. 1s. 10½d. so that the bargain made by the Crown with the public, in the commencement of this reign, for a clear annuity of 800,000l. *per annum*, actually proved a gain to the Crown of 60,279l. 18s. 1½d.* Since

* *Cursory Observations, &c.*

At the time of the late King's death there was a balance in the Exchequer due to the Crown of one hundred and eighteen thousand pounds in cash, a shilling of which was never applied to the uses for which it was granted.

On the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, this balance was considerably augmented; it is said, to upwards of one hundred and seventy thousand pounds.

Lord Bute succeeding his Grace, and we may presume, by his œconomic plan, for lessening the expences of his Majesty's household, such as retrenching several tables, introducing board wages, &c, no addition was made in his administration.

Mr. Grenville, however, contradicted that assertion; for he affirmed, that he reduced the excess of out-goings, over and above the stated income, from 90,000l. to 36,000l. *per annum*.

The Marquis of Rockingham, and his friends assert, that no addition was made to the out-goings during his administration.

Since the 5th of January, 1762, the hereditary and temporary revenues have gone on gradually encreasing, but this probably

On the opening of the session 1768, application was made to Parliament, and 513,000*l.* granted in the course of it to discharge the civil list debt.

If then these premises are to be depended upon, it will follow, that the balance in the Duke of Newcastle's hands, amounted to more than the excess of expenditure during the Grenville and Rockingham administration; and that in the three years the Earl of Bute and Duke of Grafton presided at the Treasury, upwards of half a million had been distributed among the representatives of the people, in order, we presume, to convince them, by fair and solid reasoning, and argument, that the peace was an honourable and advantageous one; and that the decision relative to the Middlesex election was just and constitutional; and finally, that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes was of more real consequence, than preserving our * settlements in the East-Indies, or the free † navigation of the Mediterranean sea.

On the 5th of January, 1769, his present Majesty did not owe a shilling: on the 5th of January, 1777, he has himself acknowledged, that he is more than 600,000*l.* in debt. The only application the late King made for Parliamentary assistance, was in 1746, after two expensive wars, and a formidable rebellion within the kingdom. He lived fourteen years after, and contracted no more debts. During this time, he had the household of the late Prince of Wales, or the Princess Dowager to support. After the Prince's death, he had his children. Let us then compare any eight years within the last mentioned period, with the last eight, and we shall find that the expence of the Prince of Wales, in one instance, and the appointment of the late Duke of Cumberland, or the Princess of Wales and her young family, amounted to full as much as the Queen and the present royal family, and the appointments of the Dukes of Gloucester

* In 1769 the French King sent out a very formidable navy and military force to the isles of Mauritius and Bourbon, with an intention of attacking our settlements on the Coromandel coast; when the fleet and army arrived, counter orders were waiting for them by a dispatch over land; Choiseul having in the mean time been disgraced, and they directed immediately to return to Europe.

† The conquest of Corsica by France.

probably would not have happened had they till now continued the private property of the Crown; for when it was proposed to give up the privilege of franking, I freely concurred to relinquish the same, for the benefit of the nation, overwhelmed with its enormous load of debt; but I certainly should not have agreed in that measure if I had considered it merely as the means of superadding new powers of corruption in the Crown; for by that regulation, the public revenues were supposed to be augmented about 60,000*l. per ann.* too large a sum indeed to dole away for bad purposes.

But here it ought to be observed, that the 120,000*l. per annum*, was given to George II. expressly for the purpose of making up his revenues a clear 800,000*l. per annum* and therefore whenever such growing duties, together with the equivalents already specified came to produce 800,000*l. per annum*, then of course the annuity ought to have reverted to the aggregate fund.

It is therefore without any foundation in truth for ministers to say, his Majesty made a bad bargain, in accepting a clear 800,000*l. per annum*, in lieu of all the former revenues; for we have now proved that at that very time this annuity considerably exceeded the produce of the whole of them.

It now remains to be shewn, that the annuity of 800,000*l. per annum*, was more than fully competent for all the fair and honest purposes of the crown; for by the accounts now before Parliament, it appears, on an average of the last eight year's expenditure, including his Majesty's expences for the royal family, together with every article for his state and dignity, foreign ministers, salaries of his judges, and all disbursements

and Cumberland. If so, how is it possible to account for the extraordinary demand now made; and the still more extraordinary demand by which it is accompanied, that of an augmentation or a permanent encrease of the civil list revenue in future, without supposing that the representatives of the people in the late House of Commons were as difficult to be persuaded of the justice and policy of reducing America to a state of unconditional obedience, as their predecessors were of the wisdom of the peace; or the state necessity of expelling Mr. Wilkes as unworthy of a seat within the hallowed walls of St. Stephen?

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of civil government, for all marks of his royal bounty, and for the expences of his privy purse, the whole together amounted to considerably less than 650,000*l. per annum*, so that the remaining sum of 150,000*l. per annum*, for contingencies, ought surely to have proved more than adequate to every honest or visible purpose whatever.

Besides this 800,000*l. per annum*, no account has been given to Parliament of what is called the extra revenue of the crown; we find, indeed, that above 25,000*l. per annum* has been paid out of the extra revenue, and yet the crown charges itself with no receipt whatever for that fund. If an unfortunate tradesman had produced such an account before his commissioners, instead of getting a certificate, he must have been tried for concealing his effects.

The exact amount of this extra revenue is with difficulty to be come at; but on considering the articles of which it consists, viz. Ireland, Wales, Lancaster, Cornwall, four and a half *per cent* duties, crown-lands, quit-rents, coal-mines, monies estreated, &c. &c. the whole may be fairly estimated to produce not less than 300,000*l. per annum*.

There is a curious article in every year, for money returned to sheriffs for over-payments, and yet no charge is made of the sums received from the sheriffs, although the very word over-payment is a proof that a balance must generally have remained in the exchequer. Any further remark on this would be an insult on the reader's understanding. On the whole, it is clear, the public are grossly imposed on in the transaction.

And the additional grant cannot be defended but by the use his Majesty shall be pleased to make of it. If, however, instead of letting Sir Grey Cooper, and Mr. Robinson, have 40,000*l. per annum* for secret service, we should hear of the King's living a little more royally in his household, providing better for his brothers, repairing and furnishing his miserable houses, encreasing his collection of pictures, &c. and letting the public have the satisfaction of seeing them, we may be partly reconciled to this additional expence: but if, on the contrary, we only find an increase of that secret influence which is already too great, the public will have a right to say, they have been scandalously betrayed.

On the expenditure of the secret service money, it is to be observed, that government ought always to have intelligence as early as possible, of any equipment of ships, or other mea-
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tures in foreign states, that may concern the national safety ; for this purpose, our foreign ministers should be allowed to give a few pensions, or gratuities, for this purpose. The expences of this kind will vary according to the consequence of the informations gained. A clerk in office will furnish a list of the French regiments, and their stations, for a few *Louis d'Ors* : but such a man could only, in the case of the family compact, have informed, that some treaty was in agitation ; the contents of it must be come at through higher folks. When Lord Chatham had intelligence of the contents of that treaty, no Englishman would have found fault with an increase of twenty, or thirty, or even fifty thousand, in the article of secret service ; the importance of the subject was voucher enough for a large expenditure ; and this is the true ground for our judgment on the demands made. If it appears that the enormous sums charged for this service have not gone through the hands of the secretaries of state, but of the secretaries of the treasury, it gives room for suspicion, that these expenditures have been made nearer to Westminster : and this is enough for our information on all similar charges.

Upon the foregoing premises, I flatter myself with the fullest concurrence of my constituents, and their approbation for my opposition to this new and repeated exaction upon the people ; as every unprejudiced man in England must be convinced, from what hath appeared, that a great deal of the debt now incurred for eight years past, and the additional grant of 100,000*l. per annum*, can never be necessary for the honour or true dignity of the crown, but the same must be evidently calculated to answer the nefarious views of ministry, to corrupt the people altogether, so that in the end every vestige of public principle, and love of our country, in opposition to the crown, may be hereafter cut up by the roots, until the executive part of the government, by such over-ruling influence in the crown, shall stifle and extinguish all opposition under his present Majesty's successor, at farthest, that he may be enabled to render himself by corruption, as perfectly a sovereign despot in this country, as in our own times we have seen the King of Sweden, aided by a corrupt senate and an unprincipled nobility, studious of no other good in life, but to satisfy the momentary impulse of every abject, dissolute, mean and selfish passion.

April

April 18.

As soon as Sir Charles Whitworth came to the bar, in order to present the report from the Committee of Supply of the preceding Wednesday, the Speaker put the question, that the said report be now received, on which

Mr. Dempster.

Mr. *Dempster* rose, and opposed the bringing up of the report, recommended a Committee of Enquiry, as well into the manner, and by what means the debt was incurred, as what might in future be a reasonable and competent provision, for the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the Crown. He said, with whatever confidence Ministers might be emboldened to come to Parliament, from repeated experience, there had been always, till on the present occasion, some little decency, some formality, some attention paid to office usage, and the *etiquette* of Parliament. Applications were usually accompanied by the motives which gave birth to them. If an augmentation of funds was required, the cause of the deficiency was stated; if the deficiency was ascertained, the mode of raising that deficiency was pointed out. But how was it on the present occasion? Deficiencies were stated without shewing the encrease of expenditure that caused them; and a fund was desired to be created by Parliament, without stating a single proof of the necessity of such a provision. It was with pain he found himself obliged to repeat, what in the course of the debate in the committee, had been so frequently mentioned; but among a great number of instances equally striking, he could not without astonishment, see an encrease of near half a million on four articles unaccompanied by a single voucher to authenticate them. The heads of expenditure he particularly adverted to, were those of the Cofferer, Treasurer of the Chamber, Master of the Horse, secret service, and pensions. No man in that House would more cheerfully co-operate in relieving his Majesty from his domestic embarrassments; nay at all events, to pay his Majesty's debts; but while his zeal would prompt him to go thus far, his duty as a member of that House, must compel him to know in what manner those debts were contracted. It was a duty he owed to himself; but it became still more particularly obligatory, when he was called upon to vote the money out of the pockets of his constituents. Supposing that an act of oblivion were to take place in respect to what had already passed; allowing that the debt ought to be paid, without retrospect or enquiry; the second resolution, which was going to be reported, and which

which was to lay an additional burden of 100,000*l.* *per annum* on the nation, demanded the most serious attention of Parliament. Parliament ought to be furnished with every means that could lead to know, whether all, or any part, or a greater sum, were necessary to support the dignity of the Crown. That could never be known, till the real outgoings were satisfactorily ascertained; till necessary expences were distinguished from those that were really unnecessary; and till the people were satisfied, that the burdens borne by them, were not to answer the purposes of corruption, by influencing the conduct of their representatives in Parliament. On the whole, he observed, that much the greater part of the excess of expenditure, arose under the five or six heads before mentioned; upwards of 400,000*l.* was wrote off in a few lines. Whatever inclination therefore he might have, out of respect to his Majesty, to pay the debt already contracted, he could not in conscience, as a trustee for the public at large, as more particularly bound to his constituents, ever consent to add 100,000*l.* to the 800,000*l.* a year, at present settled on the Crown; if the friends of the augmentation did not first consent to go into a committee of enquiry. The accounts before the House were imperfect and defective; and where they were not, they were intricate, obscure, and unintelligible; he should, on these several grounds, oppose the bringing up of the report, till an enquiry were first had to shew that such an augmentation was really necessary.

Sir *Edward Astley* coincided entirely in the sentiments of the honourable gentleman who spoke last. As a country gentleman he could never agree to lavish the property of his constituents in such a profuse manner, without knowing on what account, and how it was disposed of. He said, in 1769, ministers acted both more modestly and consistently. They asked for money only to pay the King's debts, they desired no augmentation, because they said none would be wanting. They produced no accounts; they said the debt was contracted; it must be paid; but it should not be so in future. What is the conduct of ministers on the present occasion? They pretend to produce an account, which is in fact no account, because it is neither vouched nor documented, nor can it be understood. They adopt the language of 1769, that the debt must be paid; and they demand an augmentation, without adducing a single proof that it ought to be granted.

Mr. Stanley. Mr. *Stanley*, to explain how the excess in the cofferer's office had been caused. He said, it was not the business of that office to examine into the detail; the warrants being the only vouchers. The cofferer issued the money directed to be paid; his account properly contained nothing more than the receipts and disbursements; when therefore money was issued by the cofferer, it was no part of his duty to know for what particular service the money was paid, but whether the order was officially made out, and came properly authenticated to his office.

Lord North. Lord *North* rose, to answer some objections made by the two honourable gentlemen who spoke first in the debate. He observed, that if the accounts were defective, it was not the fault of administration; they were made up pursuant to the precedents of office, except in a few instances, those of the treasurer of the chamber, &c. which he had so fully explained the other evening in the committee, to have been occasioned by the papers being taken away by their predecessors in office, which only could have afforded the satisfaction now so earnestly sought. He took notice, that throughout the arguments used on the subject by the gentlemen on the other side of the House, it was taken for granted by them, that the extra revenue of the Crown was something very considerable. That, he said, was the most mistaken idea that could be well conceived; for except the Duchy of Cornwall, he scarcely knew of any benefit whatever his Majesty drew from the extra revenue. And he recommended it to gentlemen in the further progress of the debate, to consider that as a fact, which with very little allowance or qualification might be faithfully depended on.

Governor Johnstone. Governor *Johnstone*, after taking a review of the principal arguments, which had been employed by those who supported the propriety of discharging the debt, and voting the augmentation, said, he was against both measures; for his part, he highly disapproved of them, and was for neither paying the debt, nor granting the addition. It was a current expression from several parts of the House, "The King's debts ought to be paid, but we will not grant an augmentation of the civil list;" but I say no, the objection lays equally against the debt and augmentation. If the debt has been fairly contracted, it ought to be paid. If it has been fairly contracted, the incurring such a debt can only be justified on the ground of necessity; and if that plea will
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stand the test of enquiry, then an addition to an incompetent revenue will follow as a matter of course. But how are the premises to be ascertained? Not surely by the accounts now lying on your table. They tell us nothing; they leave every thing in darkness and obscurity; or they are manifestly calculated to impose and mislead. When therefore, I say I am equally against paying the debt, and granting the proposed augmentation, I would be understood, that I cannot consistently with my duty, as a member of this House, or as a faithful guardian of the property of my constituents, agree to either, till I receive that species of information, that may lead to shew that the debt was in the first instance necessarily incurred; and that the addition is a necessary consequence of that expenditure, which experience has shewn the maintenance of the honour and dignity of the Crown requires. If this be not fair reasoning, if it be not arguing upon principle, I should be glad to know, what would the negative go to prove; but that the minister for the time being might lavish the public treasure as he pleased; or which was nearly the same thing, incur debts to any amount he thought proper; and then come to Parliament without any account, or with any account, however imperfect, and desire that the debt thus incurred might be discharged. Is not the latter precisely the case at present? Was not the former exactly the case in 1769? Standing therefore on this ground, I shall resist every proposition for a grant of public money, which is not accompanied by the reasons which support it, and the propriety, if not necessity, for granting it; because, if some stated rule be not adhered to, the argument would come to this: that a mere incurring of a debt would establish a claim for its payment: and he, in whom this unlimited power of virtually pledging the public to the payment of whatever debts he might contract, would most certainly hold the public purse, to use it at his pleasure. The Governor made several observations on the encouragement such a parliamentary doctrine would give to future ministers, if assented to in the extent he heard it argued the other night. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon knew the full operation an addition of 100,000l. a year would have on the understandings of some idle or sceptical members; and how effectually it would serve to oil the wheels of government, now and then apt to run heavy. His Lordship was fully apprised how many had tasted of the sweets extracted from the civil

P 2 list

list revenue ; how many wished to partake more bounteously of them ; and what a new supply, the present proposed addition, would afford. Yet able as his Lordship was, and ready to oblige his friends, he suspected the augmentation would operate contrary to his expectation, in more instances than one ; it would create solicitations for favours ; it would render the hungry and unsatisfied dependants of the Court, more pressing and enormous in their demands ; whereas, voting against the measure, and defeating it, would be the only means of proving to them, that all their resources, through that channel, were cut off. He said, in these days, a sum of nearly 200,000*l.* a year was looked upon as a trifle ; yet trifling as it might appear, when laid down on the large scale of millions, if members were yet to be bought at the current established price, some few years since, at 600*l.* *per annum*, 200,000*l.* prudently laid out, would purchase a clear decisive majority of that House, without even the assistance of the present standing corps of pensioners and placemen, already retained by their places, pensions, and annuities, in the service of Government. But if administration, already strong enough in numbers, should think better to lay out a part in the purchase of the venal rotten boroughs all over the kingdom, this 200,000*l.* a year might be most usefully employed, and the Court have it in its power, to make members, and not be at the trouble of bribing them. He said, the noble Lord had confined the whole income of the extra revenue to the Duchy of Cornwall. This was a language totally new to him. He would be glad to know, from the noble Lord, what was become of the revenue formerly drawn from the principality of Wales, of the four and a half per cent. duties, on the produce of the Leeward Islands ; of the revenues of the Bishopric of Osnaburgh, and those drawn from the Duchy of Lancaster, and from Ireland. His Lordship, the other night, seemed to be quite certain of recovering America, and counted on his Majesty's hereditary revenue in that country, as a matter of course. If so, the rents there would gradually encroach ; and would augment the extra revenue, which with the other branches of it already enumerated, would in a few years, if prudently managed, create an additional fund, that would form an ample revenue for the first crowned head in Europe. In the account of the secret service, it appeared, that within the last eight years the enormous sum of 600,000*l.* had been

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lavished under that head of expenditure, a great part of which was directly issued to Sir Grey Cooper and Mr. John Robinson, secretaries of the treasury; and he presumed, if common sense was to govern, if probabilities were to prevail, it must be concluded, that all, or the greater part of the money paid into the hands of those gentlemen, was distributed among members, in order to influence their voices in Parliament; or at least, in order to regulate their Parliamentary conduct, by enlightening their understandings. Nay, I will not stop here, I will say more. I will say, that all this money has not been distributed among the members of this House; part of it has gone to my countrymen, in the other; and yet finally operated within these walls. It has been distributed in a manner, which I much more disapprove of, because it has effected double mischief. My countrymen, the Scotch Lords, have not only got part of it for their votes, but for doing worse, for influencing the elections in that part of the kingdom; and by that means, sending us members to this House. They are chosen themselves by the minister for the time being. They, in return, chuse representatives for the people; they send their choice here, not to vote or act according to opinion or conscience, but as their patrons direct them. In a few lines, three millions of money are set down, without a single voucher; which is no more than saying, "We have received so much, we have paid so much; the balance is so much against us; and consequently we owe so much." This I will venture to contend, is no account; and if prudence is to govern us, and we are to pay the debt incurred without account, for God's sake let us not depart from every rule of usage, justice, and common sense, by voting an addition without account; or till some grounds are laid before us, to shew, that such an addition is necessary.

Mr. *Ellis* rose next, and took a review of the several applications made by the Crown to Parliament, since the Revolution; in order to shew, that it had been uniformly the custom, to grant the money required in most instances, without any account; and where accounts were presented or called for, with accounts made up in the manner now, he believed for the first time, so severely censured; so it was in Queen Anne's reign, in 1710; in 1721, that of George the First; in the same reign in the year 1725; at the accession of his late Majesty, when the 100,000*l.* augmentation was made

made to the civil list revenue, which was then fixed at 700,000l; in 1747, the 20th of the late King; and since the accession of his present Majesty, in the year 1769. He contended, that on all of these occasions, no accounts were produced; or they were accounts like the present, shewing the gross expenditure, under the several heads. It would, he said, in many instances, be impossible to make out the accounts in any other manner; and when they might, the disbursements came precisely to the same point. As to the secret service money, which had furnished so happy a topic for the gentleman who complained of the enormity of the expence, it just amounted to this, in fair argument: Either such a head of expenditure, ought, or ought not to be permitted. If it ought, it was surely idle to find fault with it; the very title was expressive of its true nature. It was money given for certain secret transactions, which it was proper to conceal, and supposed to be for the interest of this country. The employing this money wisely and faithfully, was entrusted to certain persons, who were bound only by a faithful discharge of their duty; if there was any thing then in the objections made, it could not reach the mode of making up the account; it must be entirely personal, against those who distributed the money. If no such power ought to be intrusted to ministers, that indeed might be a reason for discontinuing the secret service money, in future; but till such a resolution was taken, it must be provided for; and from its very nature must continue to be accounted for, in the customary manner, as none other would be practicable.

Colonel
Barré.

Colonel *Barré*, after controverting several of the facts laid down by the honourable gentleman who spoke before him, declared, he was totally against paying the debt, or making any further addition or allowance whatever. In 1769, he recollected, very well, the conduct of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, who was then, as well as now, Chancellor of the Exchequer. When pressed on that occasion, from this side of the House, he declared openly, nay solemnly pledged himself, that he would never come again to that House, on the same errand; that he would not advise the King to promise what he could not perform; but to endeavour to keep within bounds; and if he could not keep within the 800,000l. in that case, he should certainly advise his Royal Master, not by any means to apply to Parliament, without accompanying such application with
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the most full, clear, specific, and satisfactory accounts. Now how has the noble Lord performed his engagements with Parliament and the public? He has come again to request from this House, to pay the debt incurred by the Crown. He has not kept the civil list expenditure within the bounds he promised to endeavour to limit it; but if that should prove impracticable, he has totally failed in the performance of the condition annexed; he has not accompanied the present application with the necessary accounts; and still to heighten the whole, he has come with the modest demand of 100,000*l.* addition, without a single document, to justify his request. The Colonel next turned his attention to a certain race of animals, who were daily encreasing in this country, called Contractors; and, if he was well informed, the noble Lord gave every encouragement in his power to the propagation of this species of the canine and carnivorous. His Lordship not only tamed and domesticated them when they fawned, and cringed, and flattered; but he hunted and fought them, and never was easy till he brought and secured them within the pleasing toils of a fat lucrative contract. As his Lordship seemed so fond of contractors, in all transactions, more immediately within his own province, ministerial and official, it might be fairly presumed, he was equally solicitous to encourage them in every thing respecting the Royal Household. Some, he presumed, contracted to supply his Majesty with bread; others, meat; a third kind with wine; a fourth, beer, &c. Now if one might judge, from the manner the contracts for the American war were made and executed, and suppose, that his Majesty's Household was supplied upon similar terms, it would be extremely easy to account for the debt incurred, without supposing that the expenditure had been laid out in corrupting the members of either House of Parliament; nay, if the debt was treble what it is, as he was well convinced, there was not a single contract of any consequence, made since the commencement of the American war, that the public did not pay full 40 *per cent.* over and above the market price, and paying for every risque of insurance, and reasonable allowance for time and trouble. He next enumerated the several sources of the extra revenue, and insisted, that independent of Hanover or Osnaburgh, his Majesty was in the actual possession of a million a year; and he confessed, he was much astonished to hear his Lordship confine the extra revenue, to
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the Duchy of Cornwall, in exclusion of the Duchy of Lancaster, Principality of Wales, four and a half *per cent.* duties, and the revenue drawn from Ireland, which alone, at this instant, amounted to full 90,000*l.* *per annum*, 50,000*l.* of which was paid to persons resident within this kingdom. He concluded, with describing the hardships borne by the Irish, the oppressions the poor labour under, the decline of their trade, the ruin of their staple manufacture, the wanton restraints laid on their commerce, and a variety of other particulars; and finally affirmed, that no nation under the sun was ever so fleeced, scourged, and oppressed as the Irish.

Mr. Grenville.

Mr. Grenville spoke next: said, though he had as high respect for the person of the King, and was as zealous to support any measure which promised to promote his domestic happiness, as any person in that House, he would not deserve the name he bore, if he betrayed the duty he owed to his country and his Sovereign, by giving a silent vote on the present occasion. He was fully satisfied, from papers which came to his hands, from the most clear, incontrovertible, and authentic documents, that 800,000*l.* a year, was a most ample revenue, if frugally, faithfully, and judiciously managed, to support in the utmost splendour, the lustre and dignity of the Crown. He heard some very strange things fall from the friends of the measure, and particularly from the noble Lord, who brought the message. The noble Lord said, that the King drew no advantage whatever from the extra revenue, but from that part of it which arose within the Duchy of Cornwall. The fact might be so; he hoped the noble Lord was mistaken or misinformed. If he was not, surely the matter was deserving of the most minute enquiry and serious attention of that House, to discover how, or where the remainder of the extra revenue was sunk. Was the revenue no more; or was it still in being, but granted in such a manner, as to transfer the controul and possession of it, from the Crown into other hands? This, in his opinion, was a matter that called loudly for investigation; because, in the first place, his Majesty should not be represented as possessing a revenue long since annihilated, or out of his power; and Parliament and the nation should be informed, how the revenue came to be annihilated or alienated. Such an enquiry, would lead to an account of the four and a half *per cent.* duties, the revenues drawn from the Principality and Duchy, and the whole of the casual revenue, not appropriated by Parliament. With regard to the four and half *per cent.*

he had indeed heard strange doctrine from the noble Lord, that it was ruined by the many grants of pensions now upon it; did the noble Lord mean, that because it was all exhausted by the Crown pensions, that therefore it was no part of the revenue? Or, did he not know that the whole of such grants were illegal? A language which he was authorized to hold, as he was warranted by the journals so to do; as he would, if called upon, refer to a resolution of that House, declaring such grants illegal and unconstitutional: that if no one contradicted his assertion, he hoped the House would give credit to it, and he would prove it if necessary: He concluded by repeating that 800,000*l.* was a noble, competent, and ample revenue; and though it were not, that it was incumbent on administration to satisfy Parliament, upon the most satisfactory and unequivocal proofs, that it was necessary to augment it.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* rose, and contended that the deficiency now desired to be provided for, might easily be accounted for, without having recourse to the increased price of the necessaries of life; it had been employed in corrupting both houses; it had been spent in private, as well as public pensions; in single bribes, in temporary gratuities. The civil list revenue had been drained by as many different means as want suggested, or as corruption was capable of devising or inventing. Pensions during pleasure were granted, the most sure and certain means of keeping members to their duty, by having the terrors of its being withdrawn continually suspended over their heads, as soon as ever they dared to think for themselves.

Here a great confusion arose, some calling to order; some to take down his words; others, hear him, hear him! As soon as this had subsided a little, Mr. Marsham desired that the honourable gentleman might name the members of that House who enjoyed pensions during pleasure, as there was a statute in being, which created a disability from any person sitting there who enjoyed a pension during pleasure. Several members on the treasury-bench, and in that part of the House, desired that the words might be taken down by the clerk. Others insisted, that such a mode of proceeding was neither orderly nor Parliamentary, for the honourable gentleman was at liberty to retract his words, if any passionate expression had fallen from him in the warmth of debate; or explain them, agreeable to the sense he meant they should convey. This argument was replied to

Mr. Ald.
Sawbridge.

by a general cry, loudly vociferated from the same quarter whence the noise and confusion from the beginning originated, "repeat them, repeat them: he will surely not refuse to repeat his words."

Mr. *Burke*.

Mr. *Burke* rose, and endeavoured to still the uproar, by jocularly observing, that the words "influence the members" and "encrease the influence of the crown" were the current and fashionable expressions used in the former debate, as well as the present, which substantially imported the same with the words which had now given such high offence. For his part, he could see little difference, if any, between influence and corrupt influence; and corrupt influence and downright plain corruption. He confessed however, that the sound of the latter was coarse and impolite, when compared with the former. On this ground therefore, the whole matter might be explained to the entire satisfaction of all parties: those who liked, and those who disliked the word corruption; for though it should be given up by one side, the sense would be still retained, and it would compleatly satisfy such as disapprove of it, that it was to be discarded forever out of the Parliamentary vocabulary. The honourable gentleman was a citizen, and had not attained to that height of polite phraseology, for which such as happily reside at the other end of the town are so justly distinguished; for which reason what a courtier or an inhabitant of the west end of the town called influence, the worthy alderman, according to his gross mode of expression, very improperly called corruption.

M. T.

Townsend.

Mr. *T. Townsend* said, Mr. Sawbridge had a right to explain his words; and was sure he would, if the House thought proper to insist on an explanation.

Mr. *Sawbridge*.

Mr. *Sawbridge* said, he was much obliged to his friends, for the readiness they had manifested in endeavouring to prevent the displeasure of the House from falling on him; and to those who had manifested their zeal on the other side. The former he begged to acquaint, that he never meant to retract his words, or explain away their meaning; and to the latter, he would now give the opportunity they seemed so anxiously to desire; he would repeat what he said at the onset. "I say, there are several members who have pensions during pleasure." These were my words, I repeat them, and I desire, if those zealous gentlemen, who were so vociferous a few minutes since, think proper that they may take them down. There are members of the other House who have pensions during plea-

pleasure. Without therefore retracting or explaining my words, I again assert, that there are members who enjoy pensions during pleasure. He then directed his attention to Lord North, whom he charged in the roundest manner with public profusion, and with squandering the national treasure, in some instances, to the very worst purposes, and that some of the very debt for which the noble Lord applied to Parliament to pay off, was spent and squandered away in hiring spies and informers, to ruin and distress innocent men; men in every light as loyal to the King, and as faithful to their country, as their persecutors would persuade the world to believe they themselves were. He then mentioned the affair of Dignam*, and charged administration, with the most base and nefarious designs, in hiring a profligate ruffian to impeach him, and several other members of both Houses, of an intention of carrying into execution the most cruel and bloody purposes.

Lord North denied that administration had at all been instrumental in encouraging Dignam. He affirmed, that no money had been given to him; and that what was done by the secretaries of state was an act of office duty, which if they had neglected, would have justly made them liable to the most severe censure. Every servant of the Crown is, from his situation, bound to listen, though not to believe. Not to do the first, would be treachery; to be operated on by the last, on improbable or insufficient grounds, would be preposterous and absurd. What then was the conduct of administration? They steered clear of both objections. They did not reject without enquiry, nor did they credit what in itself appeared to them highly improbable. They examined Dignam closely; they endeavoured to sift him to the bottom. They heard with astonishment his narrative; and perceived that it bore throughout the strongest marks of plausibility, if not authenticity. They nevertheless acted with prudence, and resorted to every precaution which wisdom could possibly

* This man had been recently sentenced to hard labour upon the river Thames, for obtaining money under fraudulent pretences. Before his trial, he pretended to discover to the secretary of state, a plot, which he said was formed by several noblemen and gentlemen to assassinate the King. He pretended Mr. S. was one. The tale was at first listened to, but in a very short time the whole was found to be an infamous falsehood, entirely of his own invention.

suggest in so nice and critical a situation. They sought for collateral proofs of the truth of what he asserted in regard of others, as well as testimonies of what degree of credibility he was entitled to. They ordered him to be watched; his haunts were thereby discovered; and what appeared from the beginning suspicious, proved soon true; he was found out to be a villain, a liar, and an impostor; and as such was dismissed, and abandoned to his fate. He could not help observing how bitterly the worthy alderman complained of the injustice Dignam had done him, by inventing such gross falsities; and yet the worthy alderman, at the very instant he is stating his complaint, is himself guilty of a fault of a similar nature; he charges him, and the rest of administration, with giving Dignam money. He assured the worthy alderman, that Dignam had no money; and that he was not suborned, but offered his information voluntarily; he therefore could not otherwise account for the alderman's assertions but by supposing, that as Dignam had asserted falsities of the alderman, he, in return, was resolved to retaliate on administration. An honourable gentleman over the way, [Mr. Burke] had, he observed, employed a great deal of wit and ingenuity in reconciling the alderman's intentions and expressions, and the currency of certain words, at the different ends of the town; and with his usual philological perspicuity shewed the general acceptation of the words influence, corrupt influence, and corruption; and supposed that his city friend, as a citizen, had chosen the gross word corruption, as most agreeable to city manners. After making his friends laugh very heartily, his Lordship became serious. He answered a great many questions put to him from several parts of the House, relative to the accounts of the treasurer of the chamber, cofferer, master of the horse, pensions, annuities, ambassadors, and secret service. His Lordship frequently asked the gentlemen in opposition, if what they desired was a minute account, vouched by the petty tradesmen's bills, the grocer, butcher, baker, &c. &c. If those were the accounts they sought, they were not, it was true, to be had, because they were unnecessary; but if they wanted a faithful and full account of the expenditure, it lay on the table for their perusal; and must, he was certain, afford ample satisfaction to every person who did not come to that House predetermined to find fault.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox said, there was a very material difference between producing vouchers for each article, or even small sums paid
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to petty tradesmen, and not producing a single authority or document which was sufficient to satisfy the House, that the gross sums charged were faithfully expended under the heads in which they were charged; and he defied his Lordship, with all his wit and ingenuity, to shew by any true criterion of distinction the least shadow of difference between an account thus unvouched and no account: and he begged the attention of the House to this single illustration of the subject of debate; what substantial difference did it make, whether the 618,000l. was wrote off in a single line, twenty, or five hundred, when the several sums set opposite the respective items came totally unaccompanied by vouchers? He next drew a comparison between the present administration, and that of the late Duke of Newcastle; and so pushed it back to the commencement of the late reign, which he contended was the most great and glorious this nation ever beheld. It was a reign of principle throughout; the sovereign was honest, steady, and sincere. His ministers sought his personal satisfaction and domestic quiet; and maintained the honour and dignity of the nation. Even the different parties who caballed for power, were open in their professions, faithful to the doctrines they professed, and to the persons with whom they associated. What was now the case? Corruption and patronage had overspread the land. The King's name was frequently prostituted by his ministers, to purposes which he was certain the sovereign was too good a man, and too great a King, ever to have sanctioned, if he had previously discovered the concealed but plausible motives whence they originated. Ministers disdained to pursue such appearances. Majorities were found to support the worst measures with as much alacrity as the best. The influence of the Crown derived additional strength from its power over the treasury, and majorities were now called upon to make good the very rapine and plunder they had long since shared; and to create a fund in future for the same purposes. To finish the comparison, and bring the two reigns in a compleat counterview, all principle, as well in politics as morals, had been, since the commencement of the present reign entirely exploded. That very formidable phalanx which now lines the treasury bench, have thrown aside their opinions the day they accepted of their appointments. Corruption sweeps every thing before it. Its power or influence, or whatever else it may be called, is almost irresistible. It is now got to its zenith. Sir Robert Walpole, it was said, was the father of corruption; the

the present is his equal, if not in abilities, at least in his art of managing Parliaments. He has improved on the founder of this corrupt system; he has carried it to infinitely a greater extent. But then, he has had the address to lose half the empire, as one of the first happy consequences of his experimental improvements.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* entered into a detail of the civil list expenditure; compared it with that of every reign since the revolution, particularly the late reign; and proved from a variety of documents, that the civil list revenue, as it now stood, if properly managed, was amply sufficient to maintain the Royal Household in dignity, splendour, and affluence; and all the expences of the civil government, upon the most generous and liberal scale: from which he drew this natural deduction, that the excess of expenditure arose from a want of oeconomy; or was employed to carry into execution a system of bribery and corruption, which had become for several years past the great engine of government in this country. Though it was nine o'clock when he rose, he was heard with great attention.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* attacked opposition very violently. He said, no accounts were ever given, nor ought to be now given. That he was astonished how the noble Lord could waste his time in answering all the trifling and irrelative questions which had been put to him in the course of the evening. For his part, were he in the noble Lord's situation, he would make it a rule never to answer a question put by an individual member in his place. The minister had no occasion to waste his time so idly, and to so little purpose. If, on the other hand, the House, or the majority of it, as binding the minority, asked questions, or demanded explanations then indeed it was incumbent on the minister to give such answers as were not inconsistent with his duty to his sovereign, and to a true and faithful discharge of the particular office which he filled. It was proper to answer the House, but not otherwise. He then turned his attention towards Governor Johnstone, who, he said, had asked questions, and called for explanations, which he had no right to do. He allowed it might be the custom of that worthy venerable assembly, the Parliament of Leadenhall-street; but he trusted he should never see the day that it would be adopted or endured as a rule in that House. Their conduct respecting their own affairs, did not encourage the world to imitate or emulate the politics of Leadenhall-street. The company would have long since
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been totally ruined had it not been for the interference of Parliament; they became bankrupt, and were on the very verge of destruction, if they had not been snatched from it by the legislature. Now that they had got a little the better of their difficulties they began to relapse, and would once more call for the aid of Parliament; but he hoped Parliament would no more permit themselves to be imposed upon, nor longer trust the management of the affairs of the east to a set of men who had neither the abilities to govern well, nor the honesty to execute with fidelity.

Governor *Johnstone* replied warmly to the honourable member who spoke last, and charged several passages in his speech with being no less destitute of truth and argument, than they were manifestly scurrilous and indecent. In reply to the charge of mismanagement against the East-India directors, and the company at large, he insisted that the honourable gentleman was much mistaken. The East-India Company's affairs were managed at least as well before as since government, not Parliament, interfered; the latter being only an engine employed by the former to create a new source of patronage, and encrease the influence of the crown. The company, before Parliament meddled with their affairs, acquired a great empire, it was well if the policy and wisdom that had been this night so highly extolled, would not as it had commenced in injustice and oppression be consequential of great mischief, and end in a total loss of that part of the British Empire. But supposing that the mode of proceeding in Leadenhall-street was precisely what the honourable gentleman would fain represent it, supposing their mode of proceeding did not arrive to that correct notion of order which seemed to pervade the honourable gentleman's thoughts; supposing it was all disorder in Leadenhall-street, and corruption there and elsewhere, he would have thought the honourable gentleman would be the last in that House to have mentioned it. It was neither more or less than criminating himself, not only individually, but as the head and oracle of a party. He had the sagacity to discover the sentiments of a majority, in Leadenhall-street as well as in Westminster. He had always the prudence he believed, to vote in a majority. He had seen him attend regularly in Leadenhall-street at all the courts and ballots, to vote with his long train of dependents, clerks, and partizans; so that if the East-India Company had mismanaged their affairs, the honourable gentleman should have been charitable and tender mouthed, when he recollected, that he himself

self was one of the prime instruments in causing those miscarriages and threatened calamities, he now so loudly lamented, and unfairly attributed to others. The Governor replied likewise to many of the explanations given by the noble Lord, on the treasury bench; and in particular to two articles; the secret service, and the privy purse. The former he observed amounted to 600,000*l.* and the latter to 300,000*l.* which were, he contended, enormous, and unprecedented in any former account during a like period.

Governor
Pownall.

Governor *Pownall* rose next, but the House grew so clamorous for the question, that it was with great difficulty he could make himself heard, his friends and opponents being equally noisy. When the clamour subsided a little, he said, If the House will indulge me with their patience, I will not detain them five minutes. As on the late application to Parliament for payment of the King's debts, in the year 1769, I voted against the paying of them without account; and as I now on this occasion shall give my vote for the payment of the present debt, as well as for the enlarging of the King's income, I should be glad to give the reasons on which I found my conduct. I am conscious that I am consistent: I should be glad so to explain myself, as to appear in that light to the House. When the late message came to the House in 1769, and a motion was made thereupon to vote the sum said to be in arrear, without one article of account, gentlemen of very high authority in the House, and of the highest authority with me, called for the accounts, and asserted, that as the 800,000*l.* *per annum*, which had been granted at the beginning of the reign, was, to their certain knowledge, not only adequate, but amply so, to the utmost extent of the civil list expences, as well as the ease and honour of his Majesty, it was impossible such arrears could have been incurred, if there had not been some strange mismanagement, or some very reprehensible misapplications, which must appear if the accounts were laid before us: the accounts, however, were refused, and the question for the motion was put; I thereupon voted against it. The year after this, the accounts were laid before Parliament, and though they were referred to a committee, no observations arose upon them, nor was any motion made in reprehension of them. I from that moment therefore considered the expences as irreprehensible and unavoidable. Upon the present application, the accounts are laid before us, and are now upon the table; they are in form and substance, article for article, similar to those laid before the House in 1770.

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Those were not censured ; no observations or reprehension has arisen upon these ; I must, therefore, on the same ground think the expences contained in these accounts unavoidable ; I can, therefore find in my own reasoning, no ground of objection against paying them, and as I have heard no other reason from the debate, I shall give my vote for the payment of them. The expence of the late King's funeral ; the coronation and marriage of his present Majesty ; the marriage of his sister, as well as various extraordinary expences always incurred at the accession, were stated as reasons for the exceeding of the King's expences in that period. No such extraordinary expences have arisen or been incurred in the late period ; yet it appears, that it has not been possible to confine the expences within the income. I have not heard any specific charge of reprehension made against the expences as they stand in the accounts now before us ; I must, therefore, as I said before, suppose them irreprehensible and unavoidably incurred, and that, therefore, the present income is not sufficient and equal to the present ordinary expences of the crown : on this ground I shall give my vote for the enlargement of it. He wished to have proceeded in making some observations on the debate, but the question being insisted on, he was obliged to sit down unheard.

As soon as the call of order was attended to, the following resolution being read a second time, was agreed to without a division :

That the House do agree with the resolution of their committee, that the sum of 618,240l. 9s. be granted to discharge the arrears and debts due and owing on the civil list, on the 5th of January, 1777.

The second resolution being read a second time, that the yearly sum of 100,000l. be granted for the better support of his Majesty's Household, to commence from the 5th of Jan. 1777, over and above the yearly sum of 800,000l. granted by an act made in the first year of his late Majesty's reign ; Sir *James Lowther* rose, and moved an amendment, by inserting the words, " and for the different branches of the royal family," immediately after the words, " for the better support of his Majesty's Household." He stated the situation of the two royal Dukes ; the one banished, and exhibiting to the world, a neglected, distressed Prince of England ; drawing pity and compassion from foreigners, rather than respect and attention due to the rank he must ever hold,

however persecuted, that of being brother to the King of Great Britain. The other Prince had travelled under similar disadvantages, and was now reduced to a state of œconomy, becoming indeed his necessity and small income, but very ill suited to the rank he holds in this country, and to the respect he merits for a virtuous and exemplary conduct. Sir James expressed the warmest affection and attachment to his Sovereign, and wished only to put it in his Majesty's power to accomplish those gracious acts towards his royal brothers, which would reflect the highest honour to his Majesty and this country; that ministers had stated the increased price of every necessary of life, as a reason for the debt contracted by the household; that, therefore, if the dearth of the times was sensibly felt with his Majesty's income, how much more so must it be, even to a degree of distress, in the small and insufficient incomes of the two royal Dukes; that if ministers mean to appropriate the great and enormous sums now granted, for the real splendor and dignity of the crown, and not for secret services, they must allow, that his Majesty is now in a situation to make better provision for his royal brothers; that he made no doubt but it was his Majesty's gracious intentions so to do, whenever it should be in his power; and that ministers dare not deprive him of the means, if we inserted the words proposed, as it would point out, that the sense of the House coincided with that of his Majesty and the people of England, namely, the necessity of making some further provision for the royal Dukes; that in all countries except this, it appeared that the people who loved their princes, never suffered them to be distressed, and could much less endure the painful idea of their being forced into banishment from the wretched state of their finances, and suffering in their health from inquietude of mind: that he did not mean to specify any particular sum; that might be left to his Majesty's generosity: but that he was strongly impressed with the insufficiency of the present allowance of twenty thousand a year; a sum which in these times he found occasion to spend out of his own estates, without a single article of ostentation or superfluity: how pitiful a sum, therefore, when given for the support of the King's own brothers! That he was well inclined to pay his Majesty's debts, but not the debts of his ministers; that he would willingly contribute his share, when taxed for the purposes of adding to the happiness and real honour of his Majesty: but that it was the article of unaccounted hundreds of thousands in concealed expenditure, that
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alone kept his Sovereign poor, his family shamefully distressed and exposed, and which endangered the constitutional freedom of the subject, by an undue influence over their representatives.

The amendment was seconded by Sir Edward Aftley : but upon Lord North's and the Speaker's representing, that any amendment moved to a report was unparliamentary, and out of rule, it was agreed to refer the consideration to a future day.

The House divided at 12 o'clock, upon the report of the second resolution ; Ayes 231, Noes 109.

The following nineteen gentlemen, some of whom were not present at the last division, voted against giving the additional hundred thousand pounds :

J. Elwys,	<i>Berks</i>
J. Cator,	<i>Wallingford</i>
G. Grenville,	<i>Bucks</i>
Rd. Croftes,	<i>Cambridge University</i>
Sir Jas. Lowther,	<i>Cumberland</i>
Ralph Gowland,	<i>Cockermouth</i>
Cha. Barrow,	<i>Gloucester</i>
Rt. Gregory,	<i>Rocheſter</i>
Tho. Lyſter,	<i>Clitherow,</i>
Lucy Knightley,	<i>Northamptonſhire</i>
Ld. Edw. Bentinck,	<i>Nottinghamſhire</i>
Ch. Fitzroy Scudamore,	<i>Thetford</i>
Edw. Philipps,	<i>Somerſetſhire</i>
Sir J. G. Griffin,	<i>Andover</i>
Peter Burrel,	<i>Haſlemere</i>
Jas. Lowther,	<i>Westmoreland</i>
Hon. F. Wenman,	<i>Westbury</i>
Nat. Bayley,	<i>Ditto</i>
Cha. Brett,	<i>Sandwich</i>

Adjourned to the 21st.

April 21.

Agreed to the resolution of the committee of ways and means, that 763,364l. remaining in the exchequer, being the produce of the sinking fund to the 5th of April, 1777, be applied toward making good the supply granted to his Majesty.

Private business.

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April

April 22.

Not members sufficient for a ballot to try a contested election for Newcastle.

April 23.

The same.

April 24.

The same.

April 25.

The ballot. Adjourned to the 28th.

April 28.

On the 21st of February last, a petition of the trustees of the British Museum being offered to be presented to the House, Lord North (by his Majesty's command) acquainted the House, that his Majesty having been informed of the contents of the said petition, recommends the same to the consideration of the House.

Then the said petition was brought up and read; setting forth, that, in the second year of the reign of his present Majesty, the said trustees represented to Parliament, that the sum allowed them for the establishment and support of the said Museum, was reduced to a capital of 30,000*l.* reduced bank annuities, the dividend of which, amounting to 900*l.* was, notwithstanding their utmost attention to the forming their establishment with frugality, greatly insufficient for that purpose; upon which representation, they have at sundry times obtained from the House various sums to supply the deficiencies of their income, which sums, together with the salary allotted to the King's librarian yearly, amounting to about 250*l.* have proved insufficient to defray the necessary expences of the said Museum; and what now remains in the hands of the trustees is very little more than what is requisite to discharge the expences already incurred; and that the expences of the said trust and establishment, one year with another, from the year 1767 to the year 1775 inclusive, have amounted annually to the sum of 2127*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* whereas the yearly income, including the salary of the King's librarian, which the petitioners have enjoyed for little more than a year, amounts only to the sum of 1150*l.* so that the deficiency, one year with another, during that time, has amounted to 978*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* a year; which deficiencies will probably increase, as well as several unforeseen expences arise; and therefore praying the House, to grant them such further support, towards enabling them to carry on the execution of the trust reposed in them by Parliament, for the general benefit of

of learning and useful knowledge, and for the improvement of arts and manufactures, as to the House shall seem meet.

This petition was first ordered to be referred to a committee of the whole House; but this day, Sir Grey Cooper moved to refer it to the committee of supply.

Mr. *Wilkes*. Before the petition of the trustees of the British Museum is referred to the committee of supply, I beg the indulgence of the House to submit a few general ideas on that subject, intirely independent of party or politics. The encouragement of all useful knowledge, and the protection of the arts and sciences, appear to me, Sir, just objects of public regard, and highly deserving parliamentary attention, especially in this great commercial country. Among the many proofs of the improvement of our national taste, and love of polite literature, the establishment of the British Museum claims the pre-eminence. It rose under the favourable auspices of this House, has been carefully watched over by us, and I hope will still continue to receive our friendly protection and support. Various branches of learning have already derived singular advantages from that rich repository, and I think it may be made yet more extensively useful to this kingdom. This, Sir, can only be done by this House, by parliamentary assistance. I shall at present confine myself to general ideas, and only throw out some hints for a future day's consideration.

It seems to me, Sir, highly expedient that the trustees of the British Museum should not only be enabled adequately to fulfil the objects of their public trust, by making what is already collected as useful as possible to the nation, but still farther to extend the laudable purposes of their institution. Their present funds, we find by their petition, are incompetent even to the contracted plan now pursued. It is a general complaint that the Museum is not sufficiently accessible to the public. This must necessarily happen from the deficiency of their revenues; the trustees cannot pay a proper number of officers and attendants. This will to-day be in part the consideration of the committee, into which the House will soon resolve itself. But, Sir, I wish their plan much enlarged, especially on two important objects, books and paintings. This capital after so many ages remains without any considerable public library. Rome has the immense collection of the Vatican, and Paris scarce yields to the mistress of the world by the greatness of the King's library; they are both open at stated times, with every proper

per accommodation, to all strangers. London has no large public library. The best here, I believe, is the Royal Society's; but even that is inconsiderable, neither is it open to the public, nor are the necessary conveniences afforded strangers for reading or transcribing. The British Museum, Sir, is rich in manuscripts, the Harleian collection, the Cottonian library, the collection of Charles I. and many others, especially in our own history; but it is wretchedly poor in printed books. I wish, Sir, a sum was allowed by Parliament, for the purchase of the most valuable editions of the best authors, and an act passed, to oblige, under a certain penalty, every printer to send a copy bound of every publication he made to the British Museum. Our posterity by this, and other acquisitions, might perhaps possess a more valuable treasure than even the celebrated Alexandrian collection, for notwithstanding that selfishness which marks the present age, we have not quite lost sight of every beneficial prospect for futurity. Considerable donations might likewise, after such a sanction of parliamentary approbation, be expected from private persons, who in England, more than in any country of the world, have enlarged views for the general good and glory of the state.

The British Museum, Sir, possesses few valuable paintings, yet we are anxious to have an English school of painters. If we expect to rival the Italian, the Flemish, or even the French school, our artists must have before their eyes the finished works of the greatest masters. Such an opportunity, if I am rightly informed, will soon present itself. I understand that an application is intended to be made to Parliament, that one of the first collections in Europe, that at Houghton, made by Sir Robert Walpole, of acknowledged superiority to most collections in Italy, and scarcely inferior even to the Duke of Orleans's in the palais royal at Paris, may be sold: I hope it will not be dispersed, but purchased by Parliament, and added to the British Museum. I wish, Sir, the eye of painting as fully gratified as the ear of music is in this island, which at last bids fair to become a favourite abode of the polite arts. A noble gallery ought to be built in the garden of the British Museum, for the reception of that invaluable treasure. Such an important acquisition as the Houghton collection, would in some degree alleviate the concern which every man of taste now feels, at being deprived of viewing those prodigies of art, the Cartons of the divine Raphael. King William, although a Dutch-

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man, really loved and understood the polite arts. He had the fine feelings of a man of taste, as well as the sentiments of a hero. He built the princely suite of apartments at Hampton-court on purpose for the reception of those heavenly guests: the nation at large were then admitted to the rapturous enjoyment of their beauties; they have remained there till this reign. At present they are perishing in a late * Baronet's smoky house, at the end of a great smoky town. They are entirely secreted from the public eye; yet, Sir, they were purchased with public money, before the accession of the Brunswick line, not brought from Herrenhausen. Can there be, Sir, a greater mortification, to any English gentleman of taste, than to be thus deprived of feasting his delighted view with what he most admired, and had always considered as the pride of our island, as an invaluable national treasure, as a common blessing, not as private property? The Kings of France and Spain permit their subjects the view of all the pictures in their collections.

A remarkable opportunity, Sir, of improving the national taste in painting, which was lately lost, I hope may now be recovered. The incomparable Sir Joshua Reynolds, and some other great painters, who do honour to our country, generously offered the late Bishop of London [Dr. Richard Terrick] to adorn the cathedral of St. Paul's, a glorious monument of the magnificence of our ancestors, with some of their most valuable works; but the proposition had to encounter the absurd prejudices of a tasteless and ignorant prelate, which were found to be insuperable. We have the satisfaction at present of having in the see of London a gentleman, [Dr. Robert Lowth] not only of solid piety, but of the soundest learning, and of exquisite classical taste. I hope at such a favourable moment the proposition will be renewed and accepted.

As almost all arts and sciences have a connection with each other, they will likewise give each other mutual assistance, and the beautiful art of engraving, which is now carried among us to an astonishing degree of perfection, will come to the aid of her sister painting. We have shewn our attention to that art this very session. I hope hereafter, even in this cold, raw climate, to be warmed with the glowing co-

* Sir Charles Sheffield's house, in St. James's Park, now called the Queen's palace.

lours of our own Gobelin's Tapestry, and I wish encouragement was given by Parliament to that noble manufacture, which in France almost rivals the powers of painting. The important advantages of such a commerce too we may learn from our neighbours.

I am not alarmed, Sir, at the great expence which some gentlemen seem to dread, as the inevitable consequence of what I have mentioned. The treasures of a state are well employed in works of national magnificence. The power and wealth of antient Greece were most seen and admired in the splendor of the temples, and other sublime structures of Pericles. He boasted, that every art would be exerted, every hand employed, every citizen in the pay of the state, and the city not only beautified, but maintained by itself. The sums he expended on the public buildings at Athens, in the most high and palmy state of Greece, after their brilliant victories over the Persians, diffused riches and plenty among the people at that time, and will be an eternal monument of the glory of that powerful republic. The Parthenon only, or temple of Minerva, which is said to be the most beautiful piece of antiquity now remaining in the world, and is of the purest white marble, cost, with its statues and sculptures, above 1000 talents, near 200,000l.

One observation here, Sir, naturally occurs, which justice to the trustees of the British Museum demands. No public money has ever been more faithfully, more frugally applied to the purposes for which it has been given, than what they have received. Perhaps the trustees of the British Museum are the only body of men, who have never been suspected of want either of fidelity or œconomy. I think, therefore, we may safely trust them farther, not penuriously, but largely, especially when their accounts are so frequently submitted to our examination.

Learning, Sir, and the polite arts, have scarcely more than three enemies, ignorance and stupidity always, superstition often. The noble Lord with the blue ribband, [Lord North] who is at the head of the finances of this country, possesses wit, genius, a great deal of true taste, and a very cultivated understanding. The most important establishment of this kingdom in taste and literature now supplicates his assistance and protection, and I trust the arts will find in him a generous benefactor and a powerful protector.

As soon as the House went into the committee of supply, Sir Grey Cooper moved, that the sum of 3000l. be granted to the

the trustees of the British Museum, to enable them to perform the trusts vested in them by several acts of Parliament.

Mr. *Burke* observed, that the House had of late shewn a *Mr. Burke* most generous and giving disposition, both of their own, and the public money; probably they remained still in the same good temper. To make a trial of that, he begged leave to amend the honourable gentleman's motion, and instead of 3000*l.* insert 5000*l.* Parliament had been liberal of late, not of single thousands, or hundreds of thousands, but millions, granted for slaying their brethren and fellow-subjects in America; and surely they would not be more backward to encourage and protect the liberal and polite arts, than to forward the destruction of their species, and effect all those horrid mischiefs which are the inevitable consequences of civil war.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Wilkes; but the question being put on Sir Grey Cooper's motion, the committee divided, ayes 74, noes 60.

April 29.

Mr. *Wilkes* made his annual motion respecting the Middlesex election, which he introduced with the following speech:

Mr. *Wilkes*. The important rights of election in the people are so deeply interested in the question which I think it my duty to move again to this House, that no apology can be necessary for my embracing this, and every opportunity, which the forms of Parliament permit, of bringing this business again to our consideration. *Mr. Wilkes*

Every elector in the kingdom, Sir, was injured by the resolution of the last Parliament in the case of the Middlesex elections. A fatal precedent is thereby created of making an incapacity by a vote of this House, whereby the law of the land, and common right, rendered the party eligible. The words of the resolution of the 17th of February, 1769, are, "That John Wilkes, Esquire, having been, in this session of Parliament, expelled this House, was, and is, incapable of being elected a Member to serve in this present Parliament." By this arbitrary and capricious vote the House established an incapacity unknown to the laws of the land. It is a direct assuming of the whole legislative power, and gives to the resolution of one House the virtue of an act of the entire legislature to bind the whole. The King, the Lords, the Commons of the realm, suffer alike from this usurpation, which effectually destroys both the form and essence of this

free constitution. The right of representation is taken away. It is difficult, Sir, to decide whether the despotic body of men which composed the last rotten Parliament, intended by the whole of their conduct in the Middlesex elections to cut up by the roots our most invaluable franchises and privileges, or only to sacrifice to the rage of an incensed court one obnoxious individual. In either case the rights of the nation were betrayed by that Parliament, and surrendered into the hands of the minister.

We are, Sir, the guardians of the laws. It is our duty to oppose all usurped power in the King or the Lords. We are criminal when we consent to the exercise of any illegal power, much more when we either exercise, or solicit it ourselves. This the late House of Commons did in the address to his Majesty to dispense with the laws by issuing a proclamation for the apprehending of two persons, not felons, but honest laborious printers, Wheble and Thomson, in 1771, yet that very House of Commons are spoken of here with great applause. Gentlemen, Sir, look much displeased. There is not, however, Sir, I am satisfied, one gentleman of the law who will now get up in his place, and justify that illegal proclamation, which was protested against in this House by some of the ablest lawyers among us before it issued, and has since been universally condemned. It was by me set aside judicially, and a man apprehended under that royal proclamation discharged.

I observe, Sir, on all occasions, a tenderness for the proceedings of that Parliament, which it in no respect merited. If, however, they had been guilty of no other outrage against the freedom of the subject, this alone respecting the Middlesex election, by which the constitution is overturned, was sufficient for their full disgrace in the annals of our country. The present question has been fully debated twice in this Parliament, many times in the last House of Commons, and I believe every precedent quoted, which could be produced, from times the most favourable, as well as the most hostile, to liberty, from the remarkable case of Wollaston, in the reign of King William, to that no less celebrated one of Walpole, in the latter end of Queen Anne. An archangel descended among us would scarcely give a new, original idea on this subject. I shall therefore reserve myself, Sir, for the reply, if I hear any material objection to the motion, which I shall have the honour of submitting to this House. I can foresee only one objection, which I shall endeavour to obviate, and
I hope

I hope the House will think that delicacy ought to yield to justice.

Gentlemen, I observe, have scruples of rescinding former resolutions, not knowing, they say, where such a practice may stop. It is a scruple, in my opinion, very ill-founded. The first great object is truth, and we ought to follow where that leads. If the last Parliament have acted wrong, let us reform their errors. If they have established a wicked precedent, we ought to reverse it. If we have ourselves committed injustice, let us afford all the reparation in our power. We have given the world a remarkable instance of our repentance this very session, in the case of Mr. Rumbold and Mr. Sykes. The 22d of November last the order to the Attorney-General to prosecute Thomas Rumbold Esq; and Francis Sykes, Esq; as principal promoters and suborners of corrupt and wilful perjury at the election for Shaftesbury, was discharged, on the motion of as respectable a * gentleman as ever sat in Parliament. That order, however, was made by ourselves in the very last session, on the 14th of February preceding the reversal.

I have not yet, Sir, an inclination to quit the company of Messrs. Sykes and Rumbold. Their case will serve me farther in my reasonings. It is a strong argument against expulsion necessarily including incapacitation. I will suppose, Sir, that instead of the House having determined, in April 1775, in the first session of the present Parliament, that neither of those two gentlemen, on account of their notorious bribery and corruption at Shaftesbury, were duly elected, it had then been voted that they were guilty of being the principal promoters and suborners of wilful and corrupt perjury, a resolution the House did actually come to in February 1776, and in consequence of so black a crime they had been expelled. Subornation of wilful and corrupt perjury is surely a more atrocious sin, and more merits expulsion, than the writing a libel. Afterwards let me likewise suppose the House change their opinion, and find they proceeded without sufficient evidence, a resolution the House did actually come to in November 1776. By the courtly, but unparliamentary, doctrine now pretended to be established, that expulsion means incapacitation, you would not have it in your power to restore them to their seats, although you were perfectly convinced of their innocence. Justice would call aloud upon you

* Sir George Savile, Bart.

to do it, because it appeared that no legal proof, no sufficient evidence was given, on which you had founded so rash, so unjustifiable a judgment; but the cries of justice would little avail with a venal senate against ministerial despotism, or a royal edict in the form of a parliamentary resolution. My first expulsion, Sir, in January 1764, was for being the author of the *North Briton*, No. 45. Where is to this hour the legal proof by the oaths of twelve of my countrymen to be found of that charge? I have never even been tried on that accusation. A court of law determined on a different charge, that of the republication, a charge which might have been brought against five hundred other persons.

As little delicacy, Sir, has been shewn by us to the acts of former Parliaments, as to our own resolutions. Have we manifested any tenderness to the memory of the first Parliament which was called in his present Majesty's reign? That Parliament declared, and declared truly, in the civil list act, that 800,000*l.* was "a competent revenue for defraying the expences of his Majesty's civil government, and supporting the dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain." Within these few days we declared that 800,000*l.* was not a competent sum, and "That for the better support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown, there be granted to his Majesty, during his life, out of the aggregate fund, the clear yearly sum of 100,000*l.* to commence from the 5th of January, 1777, over and above the yearly sum of 800,000*l.* granted by an act made in the first year of his Majesty's reign." If the sum of 800,000*l.* was competent to these great purposes, we had no right to vote more of the people's money. We were improvident, and prodigal trustees for the nation, not to use a more harsh expression. We likewise voted the last week above 600,000*l.* as the last Parliament had above 500,000*l.* much above a million in all, on the same pretext of paying the debts of the King, when his Majesty had enjoyed a competent revenue of 800,000*l.* clear of all deductions and contingencies, and those debts were of the most suspicious nature even as to the independency of this House. Let us not therefore, Sir, affect more tenderness for the last Parliament in so flagrant an instance of injustice, as the case of the *Middlesex* election, than we have shewn to them, and to ourselves too, in other respects. We ought, if we are men of honour and principle, to do justice to all the electors of this kingdom, and by a formal repeal to make satisfaction to those zealous defenders

of

of liberty, the spirited freeholders of this injured and insulted country. I desire, Sir, to recall to the memory of many gentlemen, what passed in this House the last Parliament, on one of the great debates respecting the Middlesex elections. A noble Lord, the darling of his country, as well as the favourite of our army, whose memory is dear to every Englishman, for he joined to the bravery of Cæsar all the mild and gentle qualities of our English hero, Edward the Black Prince; that noble Lord, Sir, stood up in his place here, and solemnly asked pardon of his country for having, as he said, wounded the constitution, and violated the rights and privileges of this kingdom, by voting as he had done in this House in the business of the Middlesex elections. He did not stop there. He was anxious to make public reparation for a mistaken opinion, but of such moment; and he afterwards joined the opposition in an important question respecting the discontent of the people on this very subject. We may all, Sir, imitate the love of justice and candour, if we cannot reach the high courage, of that illustrious, immortal character, the late Marquis of Granby.

While the resolution which I have mentioned is suffered to continue on our journals, I shall believe, Sir, that the elective rights of the nation lie at the mercy of the minister, that is in fact of the Crown; that the dignity and independency of Parliament are in danger of being entirely destroyed. It is evident, that no gentleman now holds his seat by the choice of his constituents, but only by the good-will, and at the pleasure, of the minister, or by the royal permission. The tenure is equally precarious and unjust, for the constitution has clearly lodged in the people the power of being represented in this House by the man who is the object of their choice. A committee can never have but that single question to determine, provided the party is by law eligible, and has pursued only those methods which are warranted by law. I will seize every opportunity of importuning, of conjuring the House, if they have any reverence for the laws, utterly to rescind this unconstitutional and iniquitous resolution. We owe it to the present, and to every future age, and therefore I move, “ That the resolution of the House of the 17th of February, 1769, ‘ that John Wilkes, Esquire, having been, in this session of Parliament, expelled this House, was, and is, incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament,’ be expunged from the journals of this House,

House, as being subversive of the whole body of electors of this kingdom."

There was no reply. The question was immediately called for, and the House divided; for the question 84, against it 140.

Motion for the second reading a bill for enabling his Majesty to license a playhouse in the town of Birmingham.

Sir William
Bagot.

Sir *William Baggot* said he opposed the motion, because he disliked licensed theatres in manufacturing towns, and the fatal tendency of having theatres indiscriminately established throughout the kingdom. And he drew a picture of a variety of mischiefs which might ensue in such a town as Birmingham, from Mr. Yates's having a power to act there, and defy the power of magistracy, urging, that forcing of tickets upon the working manufacturers, in lieu of wages, had already been practised to such a shameful degree, that a magistrate, since dead, [Mr. Worley Birch] who was himself systematically a man of pleasure, admired plays, and was fond of actors and actresses, had at one time found it necessary to interfere, and inform the actors, even though they were his favourites, that if he heard any more of such pernicious practices, he would not suffer them to play there again. Sir William further said, that once they were sent out of town, and that they were not permitted to act in Birmingham again for three successive years. He observed, that the answer to him would be, "That it was improper to trust the case in the hands of magistracy; when it was" notorious that there had been two unlicensed theatres suffered to be open at once for the two last summers." In reply to this he had to state the fact---there was no magistrate then near Birmingham; Mr. Worley Birch was too much indisposed to attend business for some time previous to his death, and, since that event, no new commission had been sent down till the spring of 1776, when the King-street company of players, who were preparing to act, were prevented from so doing by the new magistrate. Sir William dwelt for some time on the bad consequences of forcing tickets on the poor mechanics, and declared it was not only owing to their immediate masters, but also to the employers of those masters, the factors for foreign countries, who obliged the masters to put off what number they thought proper; in order still more to enforce his arguments on this head, he drew a melancholy picture of the distresses of the poor people after they had received the tickets, shewing

shewing the difficulties they labour under, even to re-obtain half-price for them, and asserting, that they were frequently obliged to send their children to the avenues of the theatre to sell them for what they could get, and that the gentlemen who could pass through such a range of unfortunate beings, in their way to the theatre, without feeling for their distress, must love tragedies better than he did. By way of proving the fatal tendency of establishing theatres indiscriminately in any kingdom, Sir William adverted to the times of the Romans, when he declared the giving theatres was the cause of the decline of the state; he declared, that to add to the dissipation of the people was always the maxim adopted by those who meant to enslave them, and that the common means of fixing slavery on any people was by giving theatres. He bid the House recollect the ancient medals, on the reverse of which was a theatre, with the words *Ludi instituti*. These, he said, were melancholy instances of the truth of what he had asserted, as it appeared from the words round the edges of such medals, that the Romans were also obliged to establish granaries of corn, and to give the people bread at the same time; this latter he feared would be the next step with Birmingham, if the House gave them a theatre. Here Sir William introduced a kind of apostrophe on the subject of the Roman medals, appealing to the House how much more glorious it was to cast medals on any conquest, and how much better the inscriptions of *De Germanis*, or *De Britannis*, appeared, than that of *Ludi instituti*. From this digression he returned to his main subject, and remarked, that Birmingham was a village; that it had, from the industry and abilities of its inhabitants grown into a large town; its glory, however, was in its village situation, and he wished it to retain it; he wanted not to see it ornamented with any royal trinkets, no royal charter, no royal incorporation, no royal theatres. And why, when the sense of the inhabitants was clearly against a limited theatre, should the House force one upon them? Why also give it to Mr. Yates, who had professedly broken the law for five and twenty years? There was, indeed, one reason: Mr. Yates had sent a card to every member, with his compliments, and begged their support of the bill. Mr. Yates's compliments! The Speaker, he doubted not, had received one; he hoped he would attend to it properly. Sir William ended with intreating, that every gentleman would remember Mr. Yates's compliments!

Mr.

Mr. *James*
Luttrell.

Mr. *James Luttrell* agreed with Sir William Bagot, that the bill ought to be thrown out; said the practice of forcing tickets upon the workmen, instead of money to support their families, was very iniquitous, and that unless the players could be turned out of the town, it would be impossible to prevent those crimes; that many complaints required redress, which could not be obtained if the theatre was licensed, and said it would be very dangerous for Parliament to point out, and for his Majesty to countenance any description of talents and merit, which did not contribute to benefit the manufactories: he spoke warmly against Mr. Yates, the petitioner; said the petition was impudence, and the application ingratitude; therefore, if discretionary powers ought to be given to any man, Mr. Yates was the last person Birmingham could approve of, or that the House could with decency admit of.

Mr. *Fox.*

Mr. *Fox* objected to the asperity of the terms used by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, as improper for the place, the subject, and the person to whom they were applied. He said, he had always retained a grateful sense of the entertainment he had received from actors of Mr. Yates's acknowledged merit; and that he could perceive nothing in his conduct, on the present occasion, sufficient to justify such epithets as that gentleman had used. If the party, to whom they were applied, had been in a higher rank, it would, to say no worse, have been extremely indecent to have so treated him; and it must be very unpleasant and mortifying to any man. He therefore thought it extremely wrong, and could not be a silent auditor of such severities against a person who had only exercised that right which every other man had of applying to Parliament. He declared himself for the second reading of the bill, and sending it to a committee, when the true sense of the inhabitants might probably be collected. If any thing could be decided, one way or the other, he thought the probability was, that the majority of the inhabitants were in favour of the bill, from the open and continued encouragement they had given to theatrical entertainments for such a number of years back. In his opinion, dramatic exhibitions had their use every where, and often drew the attention of the common people, and prevented them from wasting their time and money in employments of a much more dangerous and pernicious nature. In general, they tended to civilize and polish the manners of nations; and so far were the institutions of theatres from being the fore-runners of slavery, or the badges of despotism, that they were most

most encouraged, and flourished best, in free states. He was witty on what had fallen from Sir William Bagot relative to the Roman medals. He said, he had much rather see such medals now struck, than political medals; for that there could be no disgrace in shewing by the words *ludi instituti*, that our manners were polished; but that there might be some in having medals with the inscription *De Britannis Colonis*, which would tend to throw a ridicule on our late glorious campaign in America.

Mr. *Dempster* enforced the hint thrown out by Mr. Fox, *Mr. Dempster.* that the sense of the town of Birmingham had not yet been taken, He jocosely remarked, that he thought it no improper familiarity in Mr. Yates to send cards to any member, with his compliments, desiring his support of the bill, which had been mentioned with some degree of contempt by Sir William Bagot. Mr. Dempster said, it would have been more familiar, and perhaps would have given less offence if the card had been from Mr. and Mrs. Yates. As to the point in question, it was evident there always had been, and still would continue to be, theatrical representations at Birmingham; therefore, it was certainly better to legalize them, and put them under the inspection and jurisdiction of the proper officer, than to leave it to the discretion of a private magistrate to check their irregularities. The Lord Chamberlain would regulate a licensed theatre, and upon any just complaint of the inhabitants, suspend the licence.

Sir *Henry Gough* living near the town of Birmingham, he *Sir Henry Gough.* had frequent opportunities of hearing the most melancholy complaints against the oppression of forcing the poor workmen to take tickets for the players' benefits; that since there had been two rival theatres, the evil had been greatly increased, and that it was high time to put a stop to it. The bill depending, so far from applying a remedy, would establish, and in some measure authorize, the hardship. There was no necessity Birmingham should have any theatre at all; a strolling company might now and then come there, but the magistrates would judge if it was proper for them to perform or not; and having no fixed residence or protection, they could have no pretence for the shameful method of distressing the poor by benefit tickets. He was therefore against the second reading of the bill.

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* bestowed great encomiums on *Rt. Hon. T. Townshend.* the talents of Mr. Yates as an actor; acknowledged his having frequently received great pleasure from his representations;

tions ; and thought it was improper to treat him severely for his application to the House for a bill to enable him to entertain the people of Birmingham according to law ; but yet he must, though with reluctance, in this case give his vote against the second reading of the bill ; for it was clear to him, that there should be no theatres allowed by law in any manufacturing towns. He had heard from very good authority, that the theatre licensed at Manchester, in consequence of a similar application to Parliament, had done a great deal of mischief already : nor could it be wondered at, if we consider what pieces are sometimes represented, which, not being new, are not subject to the controul of the Lord Chamberlain : The Beggar's Opera, for instance, which had brought more unhappy people to the gallows, than any one thing he could name. As to the country gentlemen, surely this was not such an age of domestic retirement, but what they might find sufficient amusement in visiting their neighbours in the summer, without wanting to frequent a theatre. The affair of the tickets, he observed, was become an intolerable oppression ; for it was not always the master manufacturer who compelled his workmen to take them ; it was the agents from foreign countries, who forced the masters to take them, or threatened to carry their orders elsewhere if they refused. Considering then the circumstances of Birmingham as a great manufacturing and trading town, depending on the industry and frugality of the poorer class of people, he was of opinion it would be highly improper to license any theatre there.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* spoke next ; and after exculpating Mr. Yates from the charge of impudence in his application to the House, declared it to be the right of every subject to petition Parliament in any case, where the legislature could be of use to him. It rested with Parliament to receive or reject his petition ; but certainly he ought not to be treated with severity, so that he should go from the House in a worse situation than he came to it. As to the opprobrious epithets used in old acts of Parliament against unlicensed players, he was sorry to say they partook of the savage temper of the times in which they were made. The profession was a liberal one, and, under proper limitations, highly useful ; and, therefore, he wished to see those whose abilities gave rational entertainment to the public treated with decent respect. If unlicensed players were deemed vagabonds, surely Mr. Yates was justifiable in attempting to obtain the sanction of the law for his person and for his entertainments, which the people of Birmingham seem

seem to have been fond of for so many years. He thought the personal character of Mr. Yates had nothing to do with the question. He then corrected Sir William Bagot in point of chronology, remarking, that theatres were instituted at the time when the Roman republic was in the most flourishing state; that civil liberty encouraged this rational entertainment; and it was only on the principle that no man should be compelled even to pleasure, that he should oppose the bill, because it was evident to him that a very great majority of the inhabitants were against it. He mentioned Sir William Bagot's wish, that Birmingham might remain in its village state; and took notice of the politics of the times, which he feared would gratify the gentleman's wishes; for instead of improving villages, and converting them into large towns, he said, the wretched measures we had been pursuing for some time, it was to be feared would soon reduce our great trading towns to obscure villages. Birmingham might very soon have no theatre, no manufacturers, nor any magistrates.

Mr. *Wilkes* went into the Roman History, and maintained Mr. *Wilkes*. from thence that the time when theatres were most encouraged, was the very period when Rome enjoyed her civil liberty in its greatest perfection. Lelius and Scipio, the friends and protectors of the liberties of the Romans, were likewise the patrons of Terence. In the free states of Greece, theatres flourished earlier than at Rome. It is a rational entertainment, and the gentleman who mentioned the Beggar's Opera, should have added, that in the same theatre the Conscious Lovers and Cato are performed: and I appeal to all the gentlemen who have seen the representation of Macbeth, if they do not think it must have a greater effect to prevent the horrid crime of murder, than all the sermons that have been preached since the beginning of the world. With respect to the magistrates of Birmingham, I must observe, Sir, that they have no power but what they derive from the laws; and in permitting unlicensed players to perform for so many years, they were guilty of a breach of their duty: they suspended the laws; an offence for which one of the Stuarts was obliged to leave this country. The application from Mr. Yates is a very proper one, that he may be supported in his profession by the laws; and notwithstanding all that has been said against having theatres at Birmingham, I still think the people will be better employed at the playhouse than in ale-houses and gin-shops. As to the majority, too much stress is

laid upon them ; if 50,000 of the inhabitants of Birmingham are against having any theatre at all, is this a good foundation, in a land of freedom, for debarring the other 10,000 from the enjoyment of a rational amusement, for which they have a strong inclination. Surely it cannot, it ought not. As to the abuse with respect to benefit tickets, it may be provided against in the progress of the bill ; I am therefore for the second reading.

Mr. James
Luttrell.

Mr. *James Luttrell* to explain, said, that Mr. Yates's character was a very material and necessary object of consideration ; for that the bill applied to take powers out of the respectable hands of the magistrates, who must have the peace and prosperity of the town and manufactures at heart, and that to vest those powers in the hands of a man who shewed contempt for the inhabitants, and was odious to them, would be a crime in the House ; therefore, as a member of it, he was free to give his opinion of Mr. Yates's conduct. He maintained, that Mr. Yates's attempt to carry such a bill, in defiance of all the principal gentlemen, and most of the inhabitants of Birmingham, was impudence, and paid no compliment to the integrity of Parliament ; and that having received favours for twenty years, upon sufferance, shewed the height of ingratitude towards his benefactors.

Mr. Rous.

Mr. *Rous* spoke against the bill, and replied to what Mr. Wilkes had said respecting a magistrate's suspending an act of Parliament. He contended, that the honourable gentleman was mistaken in imputing a neglect of duty to the neighbouring magistrates, because they permitted unlicensed theatrical representations, contrary to law. As a magistrate, the honourable gentleman ought to have known better. He ought to have known, that it is no part of the duty of a magistrate to act in the first instance, but officially, on a complaint made, or information given.

Mr. Harris.

Mr. *Harris* closed the debate. He remarked, that almost every gentleman who had taken a part in the debate, had complained of enormities having been practised for upwards of twenty years in Birmingham, and yet that several gentlemen wished to throw out a bill calculated to correct and restrain similar enormities in future. He mentioned several of the ancient writers of an elder day than Terence, and after talking highly in praise of a well regulated theatre, ended with urging the political necessity and propriety of passing the present bill into a law.

The House divided, for the bill 18, against it 69.

April

April 30.

Hon. T. Luttrell said, he thought it for the credit of all parties, that strangers should be admitted under proper restrictions; candour, policy, gratitude, and duty to the people, whose representatives they were, called upon them to open their doors—so far as the confined limits of the House would admit of. There was, he insisted upon it, a constitutional right in their constituents to satisfy themselves how far their delegates did, or did not, discharge the trust reposed in them with firmness and fidelity, and to form some judgment whether their principles and legislative suffrages might merit a renewal of that trust on a future occasion. The persons solicitous to be present during the debates of Parliament, are, generally speaking, such as are more immediately interested in the question under debate; and he appealed to some of the ablest, and most diligent members of the House, whether in former times they had not often been put in possession of matters of fact happily decisive of the business in issue, by stepping for a minute into the gallery. To fabricate and enact laws, especially of a penal nature, as most of those were which had lately passed the House of Commons, with a clandestine privacy like *Lettres de Cachet* from the court of Paris, and thus take by surprize a subject whose liberty, and perhaps whose life, is affected thereby, must, it stands to reason, in a free country like ours, be utterly repugnant to the vital principles of its constitution; he therefore should move, “A committee of the whole House, to consider the several orders relative to the exclusion of strangers from the galleries.” He said he was not partial to any particular mode; but hoped, after due deliberation, the House would adopt that which should reconcile the reasonable, the commendable curiosity of decent persons who wished to be present, with the commodiousness of the members themselves. Some rule might probably be approved of similar to the following: “Any member of the House attending his duty in Parliament, to be permitted, during the remainder of this session, to introduce, before four o’clock on each day of public business, one person into the gallery below the bars, on delivering at the Speaker’s table, the name in writing of the person so introduced, and thereunto subjoining his own name as responsible for such introduction.” The private business of the day was usually ended about four o’clock; supposing three hundred members to be in the House by that hour, which was a greater number than he had ever seen during this session, and

two hundred of those meet with so many friends, whose names they should write down for admittance into the gallery, there would still remain seats enough within the bars for upwards of one hundred members more, who might arrive in the course of the evening; that is, in case of an adulatory address to the Crown, or an augmentation to the civil list revenue; for those were the only divisions he had seen in Parliament when the company was so numerous; and indeed some scores of the majority members thought it sufficient if they repaired towards the close of the debate from the outposts, and upon a forced march to the standard of the minister. Hence it was that when the ayes and noes were finally cast up at eight or nine o'clock at night, there was sometimes a respectable attendance of near four-fifths of the whole body. Mr. Luttrell said he had been at the pains of measuring the seats, and if they would assign to strangers the entire gallery below the bars, there would yet be found near 800 feet of cushion for the easy accommodation of the members: he would not wish to limit every senator to the measure complained of the evening before, as prescribed by Mr and Mrs. Yates for the Birmingham theatre, which was only nine inches each person; he would double that allowance, or even give twenty inches (which was about the size of the Speaker's seat) to each member: a pampered prebend in a metropolitan stall asked no more, and it was within half a foot of the state chair in which his holiness of Rome is carried, by way of anniversary sacrament, to the summit of St. Peter's church, in all the plenitude of his divine vicegerency, to extinguish heresy under the type of a lighted candle. When Sir John Cust was speaker, and during the great length of time that Mr. Onslow presided, strangers were admitted even into the body of the House, while Lord Chatham has here delivered his sentiments on public affairs, with god-like persuasion and eloquence. Strangers have been suffered to advance so far as beneath the rose which is in the centre of your roof; that rose which is now become, like the bloody ones of York or Lancaster, a symbol of state secrecy. To make its figurative import more perfect, I would have it painted white; the white rose of the 10th of June should perpetuate the honour and virtue of our present ministers---with the arbitrary principles of their cabinet junto and cabinet Parliament. Mr. Luttrell added much more on the ground of the original rights of the people in this free country, to be present at the national debates carried on in their behalf by their delegates in

in Parliament; and wished only to have the advocates for the continuance of this calamitous civil war, and those who took the contrary side of the question, and reprobated the promoters of it, impartially listened to by their constituents without doors. No doubt the ministers would not object to opening the doors on the day of the budget. For his part, next to the exclusion of strangers altogether, he thought nothing so unadvisable in this business as to admit strangers partially to hear mutilated debates, or artful, dangerous, and wicked misrepresentations. He then made the motion before stated.

Mr. *Wilkes* seconded the motion, but reserved his arguments. Mr. *Wilkes*.

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* (not having observed Mr. *Wilkes*) seconded the proposal to go into a committee upon this interesting subject. As he had been a member of the House during three Parliaments, he was master of the precedents of former times, and the custom of Parliament, relative to the admission of strangers. He said, that such indulgence was reasonable, and even necessary, on constitutional principles; and he never had been witness, 'till the present Speaker was in the chair, of their general orders thereupon being vigorously put in force. He wished them to follow the example of the other House of Parliament, which had opened their door to strangers; but yet, he added, that he had a kind of plebeian rusticity about him, which could ill brook the ungracious way of doing it with regard to the Commons. He was severe upon administration; he said he could impute their repugnance at going into a committee to nothing but a glaring sense of their iniquity, and a consciousness that their deeds and political doctrines would ill bear the light. Rt. Hon. *T. Townshend*.

Mr. *Wilkes* insisted upon what he called the constitutional propriety of going into a committee of the House upon these rigid and unjustifiable orders on the journals against the very creators of their authority; and drew a picture of what he called the dark and bloody politics of the present junto of ministers. Mr. *Wilkes*.

Lord *North* took a view of all that had been advanced by the three gentlemen on the opposite side of the floor. He assured the honourable member who made the motion, that he by no means wished to open the doors on the day of the budget, nor at any other time. The day of the budget was to him a day of anxiety and labour, and not of exultation: "sufficient for the day would be the evil thereof." He flattered

tered himself, at all events, he should have hearers enough on that day, without admitting strangers into the gallery; but he wished the honourable member would point out in what instance he had deceived Parliament, and misrepresented the state of this country, or of foreign powers, before he advanced so harsh an insinuation. The honourable member had measured the size of the gentlemen belonging to the House, but he had not calculated so exactly the size of constituents who were to be admitted into the gallery: he conceived they could only be the constituents of the honourable gentleman who spoke last [Mr. Wilkes] and the proposal was to restrain the indulgence to about 200 only, and all other constituents were, it seems, still to be kept out. He believed the House would be of his opinion, not to open the doors on any occasion, not even for the budget; though it was on very fair public ground that they had heretofore been admitted on that day.

Mr. Luttrell.

Mr. *Luttrell* to explain---He should be sorry if the House held him capable of advancing charges of a criminal nature, such as the noble Lord had erroneously taken to himself, without stating the facts on which such charges were framed; much less would he leave the House with an impression, that those charges might have been intended for that noble Lord, for whom he had the respect and deference due to his exalted station and pre-eminent talents; but other ministers had so misrepresented the condition of your fleets and armies, and the resources of this country, as well as the policy and strength of their natural enemies, and of our revolted fellow-subjects (now fellow-subjects no longer!) that, he conceived, he was fully authorised in candour, to apprehend that no very fair and authentic story would, upon the whole, compose the approaching annual budget. He observed, that although only 200 strangers might conveniently be admitted at the time, yet the indulgence would not be always confined to the same individuals; on the contrary, many thousands might in the course of a session hear some part of the debates: he should have thought that the noble Lord, who was present the preceding evening when a question was agitated locally affecting the county of Warwick, must have observed, that the gallery was nearly filled, not with Middlesex voters, whom the noble Lord seemed so averse to, but with persons from that part of England immediately interested, who had the satisfaction to see both their knights of the shire zealously supporting the wishes of all the respectable inhabitants in the

most populous and flourishing town of the county they represent, against a few presumptuous dramatic speculatists.

Mr. Fox expressed his hearty approbation of the motion, Mr. Fox. and was glad the honourable gentleman who introduced it had not urged an absolute discharge of the uniform and necessary orders of the House, established for good government and decorum. He wished that the House would, as heretofore, decline to enforce those orders with such reprehensible rigour; and he was sure, that if a committee were to take it under candid consideration, some method might be devised fully to answer the end proposed. He took a view of Lord North's arguments. He dwelt on the expediency of letting in young men of parts and education, that they might cultivate and improve their understanding, and become early habituated to the conduct of state affairs, and to political argumentation.

Mr. Rigby said, the honourable gentleman who spoke last Mr. Rigby. was himself the strongest proof that a gallery lesson in politics was not necessary to form a perfect statesman and orator; for, if he recollected rightly, he was elected into Parliament under the age of twenty-one, and before he returned home from his travels; and certain it was, he could not have been much schooled in that gallery. He added, that his fundamental maxim in politics was to be consistent throughout, and act according to the best of his judgment. He thought it improper to let in strangers; they had no business in the House at all; and he had observed, that when they are thus indulged, scarce a day passes without some of the members being put to much inconvenience, and frequently they have been pushed about and insulted. He always had voted against admitting strangers, and would always continue so to do. Even when it was a custom to let in strangers under certain restrictions, he had never brought in any body whomsoever, and never would, for his part, even should the like indulgence again take place. Some gentlemen were for letting in the eldest sons of members; he had no eldest son; many other gentlemen, as well as him, were so unhappy as to have no eldest son; were they therefore with propriety to be deprived of the benefit of such indulgence, if they chose to have their share of it? Besides, the eldest son was not heir by birth to a seat in that House; he might, possibly, never have a seat there, except indeed where there were hereditary burgage tenures in the case. What good could result from strangers being in the gallery? Only to print speeches in

news-papers of all sorts. He agreed with Mr. Townshend, that the Members of the House of Commons had little reason to be pleased with the stile and terms of their admission into the House of Peers: a line was drawn between commoners who are allied to the peerage, and all others of inferior dignity. Lords' brothers and Lords' cousins might be accommodated behind the throne, but the rest of that House must be content to stand below the bar, with an intolerable croud of other persons, and with a risk of having their pockets picked. He finished by declaring, that although he disapproved of the motion now before the House, he would not be one of those who would give his vote in favour of any positive resolution of Parliament, to exclude the people without doors totally; and if the power could be totally vested in the Speaker, and committed to his discretion, he might perhaps risk a little of the strictness of his ruler's doctrines.

Sir William
Meredith.

Sir *William Meredith* said, that none but members ought to be present during the debates of that House; there were votes published under the Speaker's authority, which sufficiently declared the sense and determination of the House of Commons on every important question. The arguments, the motives, the policy, and influence that might induce those decisions, were out of the pale of popular enquiry. The world at large, even our immediate constituents, had no just claim to be apprized of all the *minutiæ* of debate; but if gentlemen wished to let in strangers, they should first learn to preserve better temper, to lay aside inflammatory declamation, personal animosities, and indecent freedom of speech; then perhaps all parties might coincide in an opinion to extend the indulgence that was now asked for, as far as it could go, without impeding the business of the nation, or molesting the members in the possession of their seats in the body of the House.

The Speaker

The *Speaker* finished the debate, by calling on the House to instruct him on this delicate occasion how he was to act. He said, if it were to meet the sense of the House, and he could be allowed to admit strangers impartially, and according to a general rule agreed on by all parties, he should be far, for his part, from having an objection to such indulgence; but he wished not to have a discretionary task assigned to him in an affair of this kind, where he was apprehensive that the best-meant complacency, and unbiassed dispensation of his power, would fail of giving that unanimous satisfaction which was the first object of his ambition.

The

The numbers were eighteen for the motion, and eighty-five against it.

Order of the day to receive the report from the committee for allowing lumber to be carried to the West India islands.

Sir *William Meredith* moved three resolutions in the committee, in order to give some relief to the West Indies; 1st, To carry lumber directly from the Baltic; 2d, To enable the King's commissioners to grant licences to British ships, to carry lumber and provisions from New York; and 3d, To grant bounties on lumber imported into the West Indies from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the island of St. John's. [See last volume, page 274.] Sir William Meredith.

Lord *North* objected to the two first, but assented to the last; his Lordship pointing out the danger of suspending the navigation act, and opening a door for smuggling all sorts of manufactures from all parts of Europe into our colonies; and that it was unnecessary to have an act of Parliament to open the port of New-York, because the King's commissioners had a power to declare the whole province at the King's peace, when it became necessary so to do. Ld. North.

Sir *William Meredith* contended, that, if our armies got possession of the Delaware and Hudson's rivers, our West Indies might get immediate supply, though it might be a long time before the commissioners might think proper to declare the people at the King's peace. New-York itself had been long in our possession, and with the power now desired, the commissioners might have sent relief to the islands, without declaring the province at the King's peace. That, the danger of smuggling manufactures from the Baltic was trifling, if compared to the loss our trade does and will sustain by the distress and poverty of the West Indies. The navigation act being already suspended by the restraining bill, in order to distress the rebels on the continent, it was strange not to suspend it also, for the sake of relieving our loyal and distressed fellow-subjects in the islands. That the African trade was all but lost, for want of regular payments from the West-Indies, which could not be made, on account of the losses sustained by the American privateers, the advanced price of freight and insurance, and above all, the exorbitant price of lumber and provisions. That thus, inability to trade with this country would still be increased, if the difficulty of obtaining lumber should render it impossible to send their produce home to Europe; cultivation itself must cease.

cease. Above three hundred families, who lived here in affluence, had quitted the country, on whom various trades in this metropolis depended for their chief support. He said, that the last resolution to grant bounties, would be ineffectual without the others; for though something might be got from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, yet no effectual supply could be expected from those places. The navigation to Canada was open but once a year, and that at a time when lumber was not wanted; that the high prices would be sufficient to bring it from Nova Scotia and St. John's without any bounty; but several ships had gone to those parts, and could get no lumber at any price whatever. Therefore, should not assent to that proposition without the others, as it would prove inadequate and delusive.

Mr. Bayly. Mr. Bayly observed, that by Lord North's refusing to grant the licence for staves and other lumber to be exported from New-York, he thereby denied the whole relief which this bill was meant to give to the West India colonies; for as to granting bounties, they would do very little service, especially as the noble Lord had now said they would be but small, and granted for two years only (though we were given to understand at first that these bounties were to be considerable, and continued for some time, without which indeed it cannot be expected to be of the least use) so that unless the resolution for granting such licences were admitted, all hopes of benefit from the bill would prove delusive and vain; he therefore left the noble Lord to reflect, how this treatment to the West Indies must appear, when it was known that he had added this fresh instance of cruelty to the many other oppressions and distresses which his Lordship had already brought upon the unhappy inhabitants of those colonies. And as a farther proof of which, he begged to recall to the memory of the House the evidence which had been given in the clearest terms by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Walker, [See volume I. page 327.] and how ably the fatal consequences had been pointed out to them by that great and good man, Mr. Glover, [See volume I. page 357.] whose predictions had hitherto been verified in every instance; nay, matters had even proved worse, for excepting a few West-India gentlemen, who are possessed of very opulent fortunes, and had providentially laid up something here out of their income, the rest were gone back to their ruined estates in the utmost despair; and the destruction it had made amongst our merchants, the Gazette gave us but too melancholy proofs of;

of; besides which, many opulent houses had stopped, tho' their capitals were great and undoubted. Indeed the hardships of the West India colonies, and every one concerned therewith, were too gloomy and numerous to be now related. He said he had not asked any body to attend this business, nor were there scarce any of the gentlemen who owned West India estates present, well knowing that it was in vain to expect any thing from the House, but what the noble Lord chose to grant; and, therefore, he must leave it to his determination, who, as he had already gained the merit of having lost North America, might now reap the glory of totally ruining, and by that means losing, the West Indies also. He called upon the noble Lord to cite a single instance of protection or assistance that government had afforded the West Indies during this unhappy contest with the Americans, and named the conduct of the captains of men of war, (who were meant, and ought to have taken care of the merchant ships) for that of all the convoys from Jamaica, not one of the men of war had yet brought home one ship safe; and that out of the last July fleet, more than one quarter part were taken by the American privateers, owing entirely to the neglect of the men of war. He concluded with saying, that after such impolitic and cruel treatment, the noble Lord ought to answer for its consequences, which would be, he feared, that as soon North America became independent, the West Indies must declare in their favour, or seek the protection of some other power, in hopes of finding that relief which had been so inhumanly denied them by our own government.

Sir Grey Cooper and Mr. Dempster spoke against the resolutions, and Mr. Penant for them.

The House agreed to the third resolution, but disagreed to the others.

May 1.

Mr. Alderman Sawbridge made his annual motion to shorten the duration of Parliaments. No debate. For the question 28, against it 98.

May 2.

No debate. Adjourned to the 5th.

May 5.

Not members sufficient to make a House.

May 6.

Private business.

May 7.

Bills passed by the King.

The

The speech* of the Speaker of the House of Commons, this day, upon presenting to his Majesty the bill for the better support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great-Britain, which then passed the royal assent.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The bill, which it is now my duty to present to your Majesty, is intituled, "An act for the better support of his Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of Great Britain," to which your Commons humbly beg your royal assent.

By this bill, Sir, and the respectful circumstances which preceded and accompanied it, your Commons have given the fullest and clearest proof of their zeal and affection for your Majesty. For in a time of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful Commons postponed all other business, and, with as much dispatch as the nature of their proceedings would admit, have not only granted to your Majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue;—great, beyond example; great, beyond your Majesty's highest expence.†

But all this, Sir, they have done, in a well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally; and feeling, what every good subject must feel with the greatest satisfaction, that under the direction of your Majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the Sovereign will reflect dignity and honour upon his people.

When the Speaker returned, it was moved, That the thanks of the House should be given to him, for his speech to his Majesty this day in the House of Peers, and that he be desired to print the same. Agreed to *nem. con.*

May 8.

The order of the day for the House to go into a committee of supply being read, the House went into the committee, and Lord North moved the three following resolutions, which were agreed to, and were ordered to be reported the next day.

* This is the speech as published by the Speaker.

† Several members, who took notes of this speech, wrote *wants* instead of *expence*.

That 41,820*l.* be granted to his Serene Highness the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, to make good expences of foreign hospitals during the late war.

That 32,934*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to reimburse him for a like sum distributed among his Majesty's subjects in America, for the losses they have sustained since the commencement of the present troubles in that country.

That 1879*l.* be granted for the support of convicts working upon the river Thames; and,

That 13,060*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to make good the like sum, issued by his Majesty in pursuance of addresses from this House.

The first and second of these resolutions occasioned a debate in the committee, which continued till seven o'clock, when the question being put on the first resolution, the committee divided, ayes 38, noes 20. The second resolution was agreed without a division.

Colonel *Barré* condemned the conduct of administration in Col. *Barré*. very severe terms, particularly for what he called their public profusion, and the House for its tame acquiescence in every thing proposed by the minister, however scandalous and barefaced. He enumerated the several *douceurs* the German princes had received, in order to induce them into a mercenary bargain for the sale of human blood, to be spilt in a quarrel they had no more eventual interest in, than in that now waging between the Turk and the Sophy of Persia, or the scenes of murder, oppression, and pillage, acting within the Mogul empire. Every request, however unreasonable, was granted; every offer, however absurd, preposterous, and humiliating, was made to those petty princes, to induce them to forward the schemes of a set of men, who were determined to extirpate our subjects on the other side of the Atlantic, or compel them to submit. They had double subsidies, levy-money, ordnance, and staff: they were paid for killed and wounded men, and still their corps were to be recruited to their full complements previous to their return to Hesse and Brunswick, so that they were doubly paid, doubly officered, and were to have double subsidies. Levy-money was even paid for their officers, a circumstance unknown, he believed, in the military annals of mankind. After this warm and pathetic exordium, the Colonel directed his attention more immediately to the question before the committee. He observed, that fourteen years had elapsed since the state claim,

claim, now revived, was first made; that a commission was appointed to take the whole of the German demands into consideration, to examine and liquidate them; that after the most full and laborious investigation of the subject, several of the claims, among which the present was one, were totally rejected, neither being properly vouched nor authenticated; and of those that had a colour of justice to support them, the commissioners thought they acted generously by liquidating the demands at eleven-pence in the pound discount; that is, instead of paying the German princes twenty shillings, they gave them just twenty-pence. He observed, that an expression had fallen from him in a former debate, (upon the American extraordinaries) which he now begged leave to retract. He said, that House held the public purse. Fool, that he was, for being so deceived; for reflection, derived from an uniform experience of some years past, might have taught him better. He might have long since learned, that whatever sum the minister thinks proper to ask is instantly granted, is voted without hesitation, without account; and is forced down the throats of opposition, even without reason, or a colour of reason.

Mr. Cornwall.

Mr. *Cornwall* rose to justify the resolution. He said, he was one of the commissioners who were appointed to liquidate the German demands; but denied that the charge for hospitals was totally rejected, or at all rejected. It did not properly come under the cognizance of the board, because it depended upon another account, not at that time made up, that of Mr. Bishop, who was purveyor to the hospitals. So far from the demand being stated, it was kept up from the time it was first incurred, to the present year, in a regular official manner; and when it came before the commissioners, it was neither refused nor reprobated, but was merely postponed, as not being regularly before them. From what appeared then, as well as what he learned since, he was convinced that the claim was a just one, and ought to be paid.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* said, he always understood that the German accounts had been settled many years ago; Parliament and the nation, he presumed, understood so too. If he was mistaken, he was mistaken in good company; and all he could say now was, that the commissioners, among whom he might include his honourable friend, had not done their duty. This demand, which, it seems, was known to every one but those who ought to have been thoroughly acquainted with

it, lay sleeping for upwards of two years, and now came waking to that house, which indeed seemed like the claim, to be slumbering over the interest of the nation. If this demand was paid, the certain consequence would be, its being followed by others beyond number--“The fruitful parent of a hundred more.” All Germany will daily teaze with importunities, or stun this House with its after-claps. We shall never be easy; we shall never have done granting, nor they asking, while we have a shilling left to grant. He was very severe on the minister for surprizing the House, and urging a matter of so much consequence when there appeared so thin an attendance. He played a little with Mr. Cornwall's official situation, and observed, that we could never expect to be free from the claims and demands of the German chancery, from the instant this resolution should be agreed to.

Lord *North* allowed, that the account was of a long standing; and wished it had been made earlier. That, he observed, however, was the only objection that could be urged against it; for he was of the same opinion with his honourable friend near him, that the account was clearly and fairly stated, and that the demand was just, and ought consequently to be paid. Ld. North

Mr. *T. Townshend* spoke warmly against the motion. He Mr. T. observed, that the German accounts were made up most iniquitously; and that, that able honest man, the late Mr. Grenville, being minister at the time the commission was appointed to enquire into, and to liquidate them, he set his face against them. He instanced one or two particulars of gross imposition, and observed, that although the defalcation made by the commissioners might not be quite so much, as that stated by his honourable friend; he was pretty sure that it amounted to full two-thirds, if not more. He instanced one article of 70,000*l.* being entirely rejected; whether the claim now made was included in that sum, he knew not; but he was certain the whole affair had a very disgraceful appearance. Townshend.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* said, he should certainly give his negative to the resolution; that an account examined, liquidated, and settled, should never again be brought forward, unless new proofs or documents, which could not be obtained, or were out of the power of the creditor, accompanied it. Nothing like that was pretended; no new light was spoken of; the only reason assigned by the minister for complying

ing with the demand was, merely that it was made, and that was all.

A long explanatory conversation now took place between Lord North and Messrs. Barré, Cornwall, Townshend, and Burke; in the course of which, nothing could be drawn from the treasury-bench, but that the honour of the nation, founded on its good faith to all the world, particularly to its allies, rendered a compliance with the present demand indispensably necessary.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* denied that the good faith, or national honour, was at all concerned. On the contrary, he thought that they were both so much concerned, as to reject the motion with contempt. If we gave money, we should give it spontaneously, and not be bullied out of it. The Hessians were now maintaining a ministerial war in America. Honour, dignity, even decency was to be sacrificed to this favourite measure. Hesse availed themselves of the glorious golden opportunity, and extorted the sum now demanded; or, he presumed, threatened to withdraw their troops. He laughed at the dignity and honour of the nation, and the good faith observed by it towards its allies; and concluded with predicting, that the King of Prussia would again renew and press his claims relative to the arrears of subsidy due since the late war; and, in his opinion, was much better entitled to be gratified, on every ground of justice, policy, and national good faith, than the Landgrave of Hesse, though he did not mean to consider the justice of his Majesty's claim in any other than a comparative view.

Mr. T. Townshend. When the second resolution, relative to the American sufferers was read, Mr. *T. Townshend* observed, that it was the most extraordinary request that was ever made, or he ever heard, to come to Parliament without so much as a single slip of paper to authenticate it. To whom paid, for what purpose, what were the losses, how they were incurred; in short, unaccompanied by a single voucher necessary to support a parliamentary requisition.

Ld. North. Lord *North* confessed that the honourable gentleman was perfectly right. No such request should be made to Parliament unless accompanied with all the circumstances which he had enumerated. All objections must of course fall when those several requisites were complied with; he had them in his hand; he had a list of the sufferers' names, the nature and amount of their losses, the circumstances which attended them; in short, every particular of time, place, and personal identity,

identity, sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical and suspicious. He was ready to produce it to the honourable gentleman, or to any other member, to whom curiosity or doubt might render that mode of satisfaction necessary. He did not think proper to lay it before the House, because, somehow or other, every paper laid before that House lately had got into print. Should that be the case in the present case, it would be productive of the worst consequences, and might in some instances prove fatal, should the names of the persons, who were by this resolution to share the bounty of Parliament, be made public. Such being the case, he was certain no member in that House would press the matter further than he had already mentioned.

Sir *Grey Cooper* enforced the arguments used by the noble Sir *Grey Cooper* Lord who spoke last. He said, the rule had been always adhered to on former occasions, particularly since the bad consequences of mentioning persons by name, who were the friends of Great Britain, had been proved in such a variety of instances,

Mr. *Burke* said, that a sum of the like amount had been included in the debt contracted on account of the civil list; that the expence incurred under the head of secret service was enormous; the most of which, he presumed, was expended and directed to the same purposes; so that voting the sum now moved, was, in fact, voting so much money for the service of the civil list; for either no part of the gratifications given to the American sufferers ought to have found its way into the civil list expenditure, or it should have all been provided for through that channel.

Lord *North* replied, that the sums were as distinct as the services to which the money was applied. His Majesty might think proper to give some of his own revenue towards alleviating the distresses of his oppressed subjects in America, and yet neither think proper, or find it convenient, to give all; and if the sum moved for had been included in the civil list debt, it could have made no possible difference; it would have only raised that debt so much more, which in point of effect was nothing, as the nation was ultimately to pay, which ever medium it came through.

Mr. *Burke* protested, no man in that House would be farther from wishing to have any man's person or property exposed to the rage of his enemies, than he would; but howsoever necessary it might be to conceal names, he by no means approved of so pernicious a precedent as that of voting the public

public money in a committee of supply, without account.--- If the resolution was agreed to, it would appear that such a sum of money had been voted, but to whom, or on what account, would remain as profound a secret to posterity, as it was at present to nineteen out of twenty of the members of that House; in fine, any sum might be granted to any body, upon any account, or upon no account, without a possibility, or means of detection, however false, impositious, or fraudulent.

The Speaker resumed the chair.

As soon as the first resolution from the committee of supply, for granting the sum therein mentioned, to make good the expences of foreign hospitals during the late war, was read,

Sir Henry
Houghton.

Sir *Henry Houghton* rose, and said, no person would be readier to support the good faith of the nation than he, but he could never bring himself to consent to the granting a sum of money, which exactly resembled a foreign tribute, extorted from us on account of the distracted situation of our public affairs. He was certain, that no example of such a requisition was known in the annals of Parliament, that a debt should be demanded at the end of fourteen years; and that at such a critical season, that, he presumed, those who made it imagined that it cannot, nor will not be denied. For his part, however ready he was to give strength and vigour to government, he should do all in his power to disappoint so ungenerous an expectation; and as he spoke, he should most certainly vote against it. He trusted to the indulgence of the House for troubling it on a subject, which, he made no doubt, would be very ably discussed; but he could not remain silent, or help expressing some degree of indignation at an attempt, which bore every appearance of endeavouring to impose on the nation by means the most unprecedented and unjustifiable.

Mr. Cornwall.

Mr. *Cornwall* said the affair had been totally misunderstood in the committee the preceding day, and that in many respects. The demand was represented as a dormant claim, now revived, though suffered to sleep for fourteen years; that it was rejected by the commissioners appointed to enquire into, and liquidate the German demands, during the administration of the late Mr. Grenville; and that, in its present shape it wanted clearness, and degree of authenticity, which it ought to have, to entitle it to the notice and attention of that House. He should say a word or two on each of those heads,

heads, and flattered himself, he should be able to give sufficient satisfaction on every one of them. As to the staleness of the demand, the contrary was manifest, for it was included in the gross sum which came before the commissioners, but the commissioners not thinking themselves authorised, for reasons he should hereafter mention, the matter, so far as it concerned them, was postponed, not rejected. Applications were then made through an official channel, where it was answered, that until Mr. Bishop's accounts, who had the superintendancy of all the hospitals, were received, nothing could be done. When those accounts were passed, the foreign hospitals made a part of them. They were accordingly referred to the auditor of the imprest, where being audited and passed, they were referred back to the treasury board. So the affair stood in the year 1773, or 1774, when the last steps were taken in this matter. Other business of greater importance, or accident; prevented any thing more being done, till the treaties with Hesse were entered into: and from that time till the account was fully and ultimately examined and approved of, nothing particular passed on the occasion, but in the usual course of business. The discharging the demand made no part of any public or private stipulation. When the treasury board received that degree of satisfaction, and those regular official documents it always requires, administration for the first time determined to bring the matter into that house. The claim then being neither a stale nor dormant claim, he could with equal justice say, that it was never rejected. The reason why the commissioners declined having any thing to do with it, was this: Mr. Bishop's accounts, in which those of the foreign hospitals were included, not being passed in the official forms, required at the time the commissioners appointed to enquire into the German claims sat, it was impossible for them to determine on the affair of foreign hospitals, without directly taking upon them to decide on Mr. Bishop's accounts, which was clearly out of their province; and which, if they had undertaken to do, would be directly invading every usage and custom of office, and of course exceeding the limits of commission, which was to determine German, not British claims. And as to the last objection, that the accounts were neither clear nor properly vouched, if even true, it did not remain to be now discussed. If they were improperly passed by the officers authorized and appointed to see that the demands were fair and well authenticated,

eated, that might be a subject very proper for the House to examine into, as applying to the conduct of the officers for misbehaviour or partiality in the discharge of their duty; but, as against the claim it availed nothing. The demand was made in time; it was regularly examined, and officially passed; and consequently, as between this country and the Landgrave of Hesse, it had every sanction which the law or constitution could give it. For his own part, he did not think that the objection held good even in that light. The accounts appeared to him perfectly clear, and the demand every way equitable and just.

Sir George
Howard.

Sir *George Howard* observed, however ingenious the honourable gentleman's arguments might be, or however plausible they might appear, they were nevertheless far from bringing home conviction to his mind. He well remembered, that when he was in Germany, frequent applications were made to him on the subject, but he could never be prevailed upon to give his countenance to what he all along had reason to believe was conducted in a very suspicious, if not fraudulent, manner. He would not pretend to follow the honourable gentleman through his long state of the question, but he recollected having several conversations with Bishop, which, with what he learned himself, were the causes why he entertained the disapprobation he now expressed; nor could he see how the passing of Mr. Bishop's accounts totally precluded the commissioners from entering into any enquiry into the justice of the demand, but by resorting to the true cause, which was, that the claim was really and truly rejected; or that if it had been pressed at the time, it would have been found to be like many others which shared the same fate, unsupported by truth or justice. In every light, therefore, he considered the claim, and from the mode of bringing it forward, he had still more reason to think, it ought not to be complied with.

Mr. Bald-
win.

Mr. *Baldwin* opposed the receiving the report, chiefly on account of the staleness of the demand. He took it up, he said, on this single ground. The debt, on which the demand was founded, was contracted fifteen or sixteen years ago. A regular demand was made; commissioners were appointed to decide whether it was or was not a just one; the issue of their enquiries was a positive rejection; for the distinction made by the honourable gentleman, was a mere distinction in words; and if the claim could be fairly supported, he had no doubt but the mere forms, had any such im-

pedi-

pediment really stood in the way, would have been readily dispensed with, in order to effect justice; but the claimants knew better, and waited for a season when they might have a better prospect of succeeding. He said, he would for these reasons give the motion his most hearty negative.

Mr. *Booth* said, the people were already so heavily burdened, that the management and expenditure of the public revenue called for the utmost frugality. The present was a claim he could never consent to; and the mode of bringing it forward, so late in the season, and when so many of the representatives of the people were in the country, or absent, not expecting such an after-clap, rendered the affair still more disagreeable. Mr. Booth.

Sir *Grey Cooper* insisted, that nothing could be more clear than the accounts, nor nothing more satisfactory than the manner in which they were vouched and passed. That whatever reluctance some gentlemen might have to the staleness, there did not a single objection subsist against the justice of the demand; and as for the demand being of so long a standing, when it was considered, from the causes already stated by his honourable friend, that it could not have been otherwise, that objection must share the same fate, as proceeding entirely from necessity. Sir Grey Cooper.

Mr. *T. Townshend* said, Mr. Bishop's accounts had nothing at all to say to the matter; that part of them which related to the foreign hospitals could have been decided upon by the commissioners appointed to liquidate the German claims, though Mr. Bishop's particular part had never been settled. He was severe on the minister, and contended, that the present sum, if voted, would be in fact an additional subsidy; and lamented those fatal measures which had thus reduced us to the humiliating situation of being dictated to, and bullied, by every petty prince on the German continent, into the most mortifying and disgraceful concessions. This, he said, with numerous others of the same tendency, were the blessed fruits of endeavouring to reduce our subjects in America to a state of the most wretched slavery. Mr. T. Townshend.

Mr. *Cornwall* said, when the matter first came to his knowledge, he retained some doubts whether it could be entertained, or be properly brought before Parliament; but when, upon further enquiry, he discovered the true state of the transaction, as he had represented it, the noble Lord who Mr. Cornwall.

who moved the resolution in the committee, as well as himself, were of opinion, that the money might have been paid without bringing it into Parliament, or previously procuring its consent, as an out-standing arrear, regularly vouched, audited, and passed.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* was extremely jocular on the honourable gentleman who spoke last. The honourable gentleman, says he, first had his doubts, or rather was of opinion, that the application should have been rejected; and I think with great justice. His doubts, however, on further enquiry, began to vanish, and at length running from one extreme to the other, his mind suddenly became so enlightened, that he thought, with the noble Lord himself, his Lordship might pay the demand without even so much as consulting this House, but only inform us he had paid it. This, I confess, is a most extraordinary and unexpected alteration of sentiment. I should be glad to know from the honourable gentleman the ground of his doubts, when they began to vanish, and what it is that at length wrought this mighty change. Did the honourable gentleman's doubts proceed from his opinion that the claim was absolutely rejected by the very commission under which he acted? If they did, what new lights has he since received? I will appeal to himself if he has a single word of information now, more than he had then. If this be the case, how is it possible to account for this sudden illumination of his mind, but by supposing that he looks forward to the possible consequences of a refusal, and sanctifies the means by the end, that of keeping the Landgrave in good temper. But there is something still more unaccountable in the honourable gentleman's conduct in another particular, than even any thing I have yet mentioned; that is, though he and the noble Lord are both perfectly satisfied that the money demanded might be issued officially, as an arrear due to the subjects of the Landgrave, or rather the Landgrave himself; yet out of a kind of deference, or condescension, or modesty, or whatever his and the noble Lord's friends may interpret it to be, his Lordship, I presume, by the advice, or at least with the approbation of his honourable friend, comes to Parliament. As he first doubted, was afterwards satisfied, and was finally convinced, does the honourable gentleman begin to doubt again? He certainly does, or he must confess himself guilty of great imprudence and possibly injustice; for suppose the resolution now going to be reported should not be agreed to, though

though the honourable gentleman is convinced that the claim is just, and the money safely issued by the board at which he sits, the claim would be, nevertheless, for ever reprobated, and the claimant unjustly deprived of his demand. He twisted and unfolded this argument of Mr. Cornwall's for a considerable time, giving it various shapes each time, which afforded much entertainment.

Lord *North* made a short reply, in which he principally *Ld. North.* repeated what he had said before, and which concluded the debate.

At half after seven o'clock the question was put, and the House divided, ayes 50, noes 42; so that the minister was very near being left in a minority, almost every country gentleman in the House having divided against him.

May 9.

Sir *James Lowther* moved, That an humble address be *Sir James Lowther.* presented to his Majesty, to express the just sense this House entertains of his Majesty's regard for the lasting welfare and happiness of his people; and, as this House cannot omit any opportunity of shewing their zeal and regard for his Majesty's honour, and the prosperity of his Family, humbly to beseech his Majesty, that, in consideration of the high rank and dignity of their royal highnesses the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland, he would be graciously pleased to make some addition to their annual income, out of the revenues cheerfully granted his Majesty for the expences of civil government, and better supporting the honour and dignity of the crown; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will enable his Majesty effectually to perform the same, as nothing will more conduce to the strengthening of his Majesty's government, than honourably supporting the dignity of the different branches of the royal family." He began with very warm encomiums on the many public and private virtues of the two princes; and observed, what a disgrace and reproach it was to the nation, to permit their royal highnesses to live in a state much below that maintained by several private gentlemen; a circumstance extremely unbecoming the dignity of personages of their rank and consequence; that nothing could convey a stronger appearance of national disgrace, than to have the first prince of the blood, the Sovereign's next brother, a fugitive, or a kind of pensionary, at Rome, not from any extravagance of his own, but merely from the extreme scantiness

tiness of his income, which was known to be inferior to that of several private gentlemen in both kingdoms; nay, he believed inferior to the regular receipts and profits of many persons concerned in trade and commerce. The peculiar hardships and sufferings of the royal brothers became still more exaggerated, and were rendered more irksome and mortifying, when they were contrasted to the enormous sums granted for the support of the dignity and splendour of the crown, while both were tarnished and disgraced, and the money thus generously given employed in purposes of corruption, and squandered away on the most worthless, to a degree of profusion, unknown to any civilized state in Europe. The royal Duke, now at Rome for the reason now assigned, is in the line of succession to the crown, and has had a child born in that capital, and living, who may possibly sit on the throne of these realms. I will allow that such an event is not very probable; but it is sufficient for my purpose to contend, that it may happen: What then would be the consequence? But that you must of course be governed by a prince not only born, but educated at Rome. He said, he flattered himself that he had been uniform in the whole course of his Parliamentary conduct; that he liked to speak his sentiments freely and openly; for that truth being his object, he always pursued it to the best of his knowledge. He was liable to error and mistake, but he liked candour and steadiness of conduct so well in others, that he should endeavour to practise it himself. He admired it even in a warm opponent, a person whose political sentiments were known to be so directly opposite to his; the person he meant was the right honourable gentleman on the floor, [Mr. Rigby] who, he observed, since he first knew him, always spoke without reserve, and seldom changed his party or his opinions. He said, he was furnished with a strong argument in support of the present motion, by the very persons who constituted the constant majorities of that House. They must agree with him, because they maintained it in debate, on a former occasion, that the necessaries of life were greatly enhanced in their value; that the prevailing fashion of the times, was to live in an increased state of luxury, elegance, and splendour; that such an inevitable increase of expenditure called for a suitable increase of income; that at no time within his memory, nor that of any member then present, was the income of the royal Dukes sufficient to maintain their rank, nor at all adequate to the most moderate

rate

rate and measured oeconomy; and that the parallel held throughout, for if the increase of the civil list revenue was necessary for the splendour and dignity of the crown, a suitable support for those who were so nearly related to it, formed a part of that very dignity and splendour. None could say that either were maintained, if the King's brothers were doomed to suffer a kind of banishment, in a state of poverty and obscurity, because they were not enabled by the crown or the nation to live according to their rank in their native country. He finally observed, that the application now made to the throne was by no means unprecedented; that such addresses had been frequent, and succeeded in more instances than one; particularly in respect of the late Prince of Wales, father of his present Majesty, and the two royal brothers, who are the objects of the motion.

Sir *Edward Astley* seconded the motion, observing, that the argument of similarity and relation, so judiciously urged by his honourable friend who made the motion, were unanswerable. The gentlemen on the other side must agree fully to it in all its parts. The expences of living are increased; the means of support must keep pace with it, say those gentlemen. The dignity and splendour of the crown, from these circumstances, call for such an augmentation. Is not this every thing that the warmest friends of the motion would wish to urge in its support; unless at the same time they will have the hardiness to contend, that the royal Dukes stand in a different predicament from every other person in the kingdom; and hazard still a greater paradox, by saying, that the necessities and the humble unprincely situations of the royal brothers, bear no manner of affinity or relation to the splendour of the crown, or the dignity of the nation.

Sir *John Griffin Griffin*, after objecting to the propriety of the motion, and urging the difficulty of discussing a subject so delicate a complexion, involving in it the King and his royal brothers, proposed the previous question.

Sir *George Howard* said, it was much more decent to let the King exercise his own discretion, than offer to dictate to him concerning the disposal of what was his own property, as much as that possessed by any member of that House. In another light too, it was more proper to let the King, after he had been for some time in the possession of his newly augmented revenue, judge whether he could with propriety, by accidental savings, increase the incomes of his royal brothers.

On the whole, if the present motion was to have any effect, in his opinion it would be that of increasing parliamentary grants, and the public burdens already become enormous.

Governor
Johnstone,

Governor *Johnstone* supported the motion very warmly. He contended, that there was nothing improper or unreasonable in the motion; that the average expenditure of the crown, for the last eight years, was full 20,000*l. per annum* under the civil list revenue; that the minister promised very considerable savings in all the departments; and that, consequently, it was equally fair in argument and fact, to contend, that the motion was both reasonable and seasonable; and as to the propriety of the terms in which it was conceived, they were the same as those made use of by the late celebrated Mr. Pulteney, on a similar occasion.

Mr. *Rigby.*

Mr. *Rigby* opposed the motion in the most strenuous terms. He said, he had as high a respect for the royal Dukes as any individual in that House, but, in his opinion, the motion would, if carried, have a most ludicrous, or rather ridiculous effect; it would be granting a sum of money to his Majesty for his own particular purposes, and in the same breath almost desiring him to apply it to different purposes. It was mere child's play, giving a thing in one instant, and demanding it the next, in order to bestow it on another. He then turned with vehemence towards the chair, and arraigned the conduct of the Speaker with great acrimony. He said, that though our burdens were heavy, and our expences immense, our situation was grossly misrepresented in a place, and in the presence of those, where nothing but truth should be heard. That the sentiments declared at the bar of the other House to be those of this, were never so much as thought of here; that the Commons of this kingdom knew better; that for one, he totally disclaimed them; and he was certain that a very great majority of that House did so too. He trusted, that before the House rose, it would be proved whether the House thought with the chair, or with him, whose sentiments, he said, were directly contrary to those delivered in the name of that House at the bar of the House of Lords. He then resumed his argument, and observed, that that heroic prince, the late Duke of Cumberland, though his royal father's peculiar favourite, had no more than 15,000*l. per annum*, till after the battle of Culloden, when his income was augmented, for his very eminent public services; not out of the civil list revenue, but immediately by the bounty of Parliament,

liament, who settled an annuity of 25,000*l.* on him for life. He repaid the compliments paid him by the honourable gentleman who made the motion; and hoped he should always persevere in the same steady line of conduct to the end. Whether he acted right, he was conscious he always intended it. As to the comparative income of the two royal Dukes, to that of several Lords in this kingdom, he allowed with him that it was considerably less than several. There were many rich Lords, and many rich Commoners; Would the honourable gentleman, for instance, wish that his Majesty should augment the royal Dukes' income, so as to be equal to the estate possessed by the honourable gentleman himself? If he would, then most certainly he must allow, that such an augmentation would lay a ground for another application to Parliament from the throne.

Mr. Fox said, he thought the motion was right, proper, and *Mr. Fox.* seasonable; right, that those who were so nearly allied to the crown should have part of the public munificence, intended to promote every thing which might add to its splendour and dignity; proper, because no persons were more competent to judge of the disposal of money than those who granted it; and seasonable, because no time could be better to urge the crown on such a subject, than when the sense of its own necessities, and the generous conduct of Parliament, might promise to make a favourable and grateful impression. He dwelt a considerable time on the increased price of provisions, and the comparative value of money now, and during even the last reign; and observed, that though this argument was much relied on in support of the augmentation of the civil list revenue, it applied much stronger in the present case, because the increased value of the necessaries and conveniencies of life had a much stronger comparative operation; he believed, in the proportion of full three to one, on an income almost totally directed and expended in those uses, than on a revenue, the greater part of which was issued in round sums, with which neither the splendour, dignity, nor immediate expences of the crown were at all concerned: this, he instanced in the several heads of salaries, pensions, secret service money, ambassadors, &c. He then stated several general reasons in support of the motion, such as the increase of salary to the judges, the overplus between the real expenditure for the eight last years, and the necessity there was to enable the royal Dukes to support their high rank,
both

both as Peers of the first order, and being so nearly allied to the throne. He said, it had been always the policy of this country, to make a suitable provision for the different branches of the royal family; it rendered them independent of ministers; and bound them by interest and sentiment to preserve that constitution under which they enjoyed such pre-eminence and solid advantages. On the other hand, a royal family, in narrow and dependent circumstances, are compelled to look up to the throne for protection and support; and from the very nature of their situation, are liable to become the instruments of the crown in forging chains for their country. This, he was certain, was at present entirely out of the case; the King was as averse to employing them in effecting purposes so far from his heart, as they would be to comply with them, had he entertained sentiments of a different kind. He concluded by observing, that there were many public and private reasons for wishing to see every branch of the royal family happy and easy in their domestic circumstances.

Mr. Wilkes. Mr. *Wilkes* said, he stood up in his place, as an individual, to avow that the bounty of Parliament exceeded, by several thousand pounds, the accounts delivered in; and that he hoped and wished that a proper addition, in consideration of that surplus over what the King's wants were stated to be, might be made to the income of the royal Dukes. Full of these sentiments, he should give his voice for, and most heartily concur in the motion.

The previous question was then put, and the House divided, ayes 45, noes 152.

While the majority were waiting in the lobby during the division, silence was enjoined, and Lord North, in an audible voice, gave notice, that other business of consequence was to come on after the division, and, says he, "You are therefore requested not to go home."

The Speaker As soon as the members returned into the House, the *Speaker* rose in his place, and begged leave to draw the attention and recollection of the House, to what had fallen in the course of the debate from the right honourable gentleman on the floor, [Mr. Rigby]. Previous, however, to his taking any particular notice of the censure that gentleman had passed on his conduct, as Speaker of that House, he begged that his speech at the bar of the House of Lords, the preceding Wednesday, might be first read by the clerk. He then

then appealed to the journals for the vote of thanks, which followed on his return, to shew, that the sentiments which he expressed to his Majesty, when he presented the civil list bill, were the sentiments of the House, and not his own particular sentiments, as had been asserted by the last-mentioned honourable gentleman. While the Speaker was yet on his legs, up rose

Mr. *Rigby*, who adhering to what had fallen from him in Mr. *Rigby*. the former debate, spoke of the chair in terms very nearly bordering on disrespect. Insisted that he had a right to animadvert on the Speaker's speech, or on his conduct, within or without that House, if he thought it improper. He was certain the speech now read did not convey his sentiments, whatever it might those of the 281 who voted the augmentation. He had a right to appeal to the chair, and from the chair, and would never be intimidated, or led by any inducement, to forfeit the privileges of a British senator. The Speaker was no more than another member, and he was as free to differ from the chair as from any other individual in that House. He proceeded to great heat, which seemed to make the treasury bench uneasy.

Mr. *Fox* replied to Mr. *Rigby*, and observed, he had Mr. *Fox*. brought the matter to a direct decision; that is, he had rendered it necessary for the Speaker to seek the sense of the House, as the charge was open and direct. The Speaker had either misrepresented the sense of the House, or he had not; and, as an individual, had disclaimed the sentiments of the Speaker, as far as the same respected himself; and plainly hinted that it was the opinion of a majority present: it was coming to the point at once, and bringing the matter to a fair issue. For his part, he suspected the Speaker did not deliver the sentiments of the majority, though it was plain he did the sense of the House; because he was immediately thanked on his return, *nem. con.* as appeared by the journals. The question, then, which remained to be decided, was, whether the Speaker had done his duty: the truth, he believed, was, that the court thought he had exceeded it, by their so highly disapproving of the speech. He was resolved, however, to take the sense of the House by motion, which, if negatived, in his opinion the Speaker could not sit longer in that chair with reputation to himself, or be further serviceable in his station, after being publicly deserted, bullied, and disgraced. He then made the following motion, "That the Speaker of
this

this House, in his speech to his Majesty at the bar of the House of Peers on Wednesday last, and which was desired by this House, *nem. con.* to be printed, did express with just and proper energy, the zeal of this House for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, in circumstances of great public charge."

The Speaker The *Speaker* assured the House, that he meant to deliver nothing but their sentiments. He thought he was justified in what he said, considering the time, the occasion, and the various concurrent circumstances which combined to stamp what he offered with peculiar propriety. Conceiving, therefore, that he discharged his duty, and that the same had been afterwards publicly approved of, he could not think of remaining in a situation where he could be no longer serviceable, which must be certainly the case, if the present motion should be rejected.

Mr. De Grey. Mr. *De Grey* did not approve of the word *wants* in the speech. He said, such an expression was disrespectful to the Sovereign; and, in his opinion, the whole speech conveyed a very improper idea to foreign powers in particular, who, presuming on its contents, might be tempted to disturb the public tranquillity.

The Speaker The *Speaker* replied, that he thought he did not make use of the word *wants*, as it could mean nothing. As to what effect his speech might have in foreign courts, or any other political consequence which might arise from it, he never considered. He wished to express the sense of the House; he imagined he had done so; and he could never think of sitting longer in that chair, than he was in the exercise of his duty.

Mr. Ellis. Mr. *Ellis* said, he presumed the Speaker delivered his own sentiments with great candour and sincerity; and in so doing, in his opinion, acted a very commendable part. But as probably he spoke without notes, and might have dropped a word or expression without any intention, he wished that the motion might be withdrawn, and the affair be thus terminated; for it was pretty evident, that though the Speaker might imagine he was delivering the sentiments of the House, from hurry and inadvertency, it was possible, he might not even have delivered his own. He recommended warmly to the Speaker, and the friends of the motion, that the matter might be ended without bringing it to a question.

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The *Speaker* said, he understood that great pains had been ^{The *Speaker*} taken without doors to represent his speech as not conveying the sense of the House. For his part, if he erred, he did not intentionally; he meant to convey the opinion of the House, and looked upon himself fully justified both in point of fact and precedent. If he misrepresented what he meant faithfully to convey, he trusted the House would excuse him. He knew such addresses to the throne had been frequent; he was sure they were proper. He said, he thought it incumbent on him to let his Majesty know what was the sense of the House, and, in so doing, imagined he was acting in the faithful discharge of the trust committed to him: if the House thought otherwise, he could not, nor would not, remain in that chair.

Mr. *Dunning* said, the dignity of the House was gone, if ^{Mr. *Dun-*} the chair was permitted to be degraded; that it was plain the ^{ning.} blow was ultimately aimed at the House through the chair; and the present was an experiment, made purely with a view to see to what a pitch of humiliation and disgrace the House would bear to be humbled and let down. It was, in fact, an attempt of a court faction, to render the representatives of the people despicable, as well as detestable, in the eyes of their constituents.

Mr. *Attorney General* entered into a kind of dissection of the ^{Mr. *Attor-*} speech; he insisted, that it neither contained the sentiments ^{ney *General*.} of the House, nor was it strictly supported by fact; for, “the ample provision, &c. above his Majesty’s greatest wants, &c.” did not exceed 14,000*l.* which was represented in the speech to be a most “ample provision.” The great stress laid on the overplus might have been better spared, as it would have been extremely mean, when they were voting the augmentation, to withhold the difference between the expenditure and the grant. He contended, that the Speaker spoke his own sentiments, not those of the House. He mentioned the word *wants*, and recommended, that the affair might go no farther, but that the motion be withdrawn.

Mr. *Fox* spoke in justification of his motion. He said, ^{Mr. *Fox*.} the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Ellis] had given, what he should call the watch-word; which had been followed by the Attorney General. He observed, that those gentlemen had founded their argument for withdrawing the motion chiefly on the speech not being the sentiments of the House;

whereas, the contrary was the fact, and the journals gave evidence of it. But however, if those gentlemen and their friends thought differently, as the framer of the motion he was ready to come to issue on that point with them, and doubted not but he should prevail. He was satisfied that the House would never consent to their own degradation and disgrace in the person of their Speaker, nor would ever submit to contradict on a Friday what they approved on the Wednesday immediately preceding. He said, among the many censures, and more numerous insinuations, thrown out against the speech, it was said not to be grammar. He should not enter into nice grammatical distinctions, or trouble himself or the House about a choice of words, or elegancies of expression; but he was sure, if the speech was not grammar, it abounded in good sense, which was of infinitely greater value, and conveyed the true, unbiassed sense of the House, and of every man on either side, till he was bought over to a sacrifice of his principles and conscience.

Mr. Rigby. Mr. *Rigby* still adhered to his former opinion, and justified his conduct on his right to deliver his sentiments freely on every subject arising in that House, or out of it, if it was a matter properly cognisable there; but he disclaimed the least intention of making any personal reflection on the chair; and moved to adjourn.

*Governor
Johnstone.*

Governor *Johnstone* observed, that the honourable gentleman who spoke last had somewhat lowered his tone. He thanked the Speaker for his speech, and applauded his firmness in not accepting of any compromise of any thing short of immediate reparation, notwithstanding the threats and soothing things that had been alternately held out and employed to induce him to recede, and by so doing sacrifice the dignity of that House, and his own honour, to the desires of those who seemed solicitous to treat both with illiberality and contempt. He said, that the speech was not only justifiable in point of fact, but might have gone to greater lengths, without incurring any just grounds for censure. However confident some of the gentlemen who spoke laterly in the debate might be, that this country was in a flourishing and prosperous condition, he begged leave to differ from them; the contrary would, nay, must inevitably be the case if the American war should continue another campaign. It was, therefore, well said in the speech, that the nation was burdened, and perfectly right as applied personally to the King, to remind his
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Majesty of the true state of this country, and the generous efforts of Parliament to relieve him in such a season, as the most powerful recommendation in future to frugality in the expenditure, and œconomy in the management of the bounty they were then conferring on him. He contended, that the situation of this country was truly dreadful; that America was lost, he feared, beyond the power of recovery; nay, he might venture to say, was irretrievably lost; and called upon any, the most confident, on the other side of the House, to rise and contradict him.

Lord *Ongley* objected to the speech, chiefly on account of the word *wants*; insisted it was the Speaker's own sentiments; that perhaps he spoke what he felt himself, but he was satisfied not the sentiments of the House. He was totally of a different opinion from the honourable gentleman who spoke last. He was satisfied the nation was great and powerful, and abounded in such resources as would render her a match for all her foreign and domestic enemies, whether in America or Europe; and that her situation was such in every respect, as to forbid her to make any concession in America or Europe unbecoming her dignity, or short of her constitutional supreme rights over all the dominions of the British crown.

Sir *George Savile* said, he must condemn in the severest terms the indecent and unparliamentary language which he had heard for the first time, since his entrance into Parliament. He was witty on the logic employed by the opposers of the motion, who argued through the whole course of the evening that the speech was not the sense of the House, because the House had the very day it was spoken declared their most warm and hearty approbation of it. This might be a ministerial way of drawing conclusions; perhaps experience had long since taught them, that the sense of the House, as declared by a majority, was not its genuine sense; but the very contrary of what it would have been, were the members who composed it at liberty to give their suffrages according to their judgment and consciences, and not to their interest.

Mr. Alderman *Sawbridge* observed, that some of the leading members on the other side wished to have the matter smuggled; but if that should be the case, and the question for adjournment should be carried, he did not see how the Speaker could occupy that chair a moment longer with propriety or reputation. He said, that the honourable gentleman

man near him on the floor [Mr. Fox] was perfectly right in observing, that the speech contained the sentiments of the whole House, if the individuals who composed it had not been bought over to adopt those of other people. He was satisfied that this was not only a general truth, but was supported by particular facts. He was certain, that many attempts had been made to bring over gentlemen of parts on his side of the House, and to cause a defection among them from the true interests of their country. It might be easily imagined from what he said, that he did not mean himself, for he was not worth gaining. As to the others, though it had been the fashion to brand all opposition with factious and interested motives, he presumed, a stronger instance of the contrary could not be given, than that they withstood every offer that had been made. It was their integrity that kept them on that side of the House, not any desire of thwarting or embarrassing government, merely for the pleasure of doing so. The idea was preposterous, and though it happened to be the case in some instances, where, he was sorry to say, the persons tampered with, had not the resolution to withstand the temptations, but had fallen; that circumstance, in his opinion, reflected the higher honour on those who remained behind firm and incorruptible.

Sir George
Yonge.

Sir George Yonge said, if the motion of adjournment was carried, it would not be safe for the Speaker to remain an instant longer in his present situation; that he would on all future occasions lie at the mercy of his enemies, and be liable to disgrace whenever he performed his duty, if the faithful discharge of it happened to contradict the opinions of those who were able to command a majority in that House. The effect of an adjournment would be a negative on the motion of approbation, and would virtually charge the chair with delivering a falsehood at the bar of the other House, and of course imparting his own sentiments as the genuine sentiments of the body he was supposed to faithfully represent; which, in fact, if true, was an offence of a very heinous nature. He therefore trusted, that the Speaker would not recede, but would persevere with a spirit and firmness suitable to the important seat he occupied.

Mr. Solicitor
General.

Mr. Solicitor General [Mr. Wedderburne] said, he wished the affair might be suffered to pass off without taking the sense of the House upon it.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby said, if it was the sense of the House, he was ready to consent that the motion of adjournment should be with-

withdrawn. He had no intention of driving the Speaker from the chair; nor, if he were ever so desirous so to do, was he of power or consequence to effect it. He maintained the right of private opinion, and freedom of speech; he meant no more from the beginning; and, as a member of that House, in so doing, he presumed, he had not exceeded his duty.

The motion of adjournment was withdrawn, and the question being put on Mr. Fox's motion, it was carried without a division, almost unanimously.

As soon as the motion was carried, Mr. Serjeant Adair moved, and it was ordered, "That the thanks of this House be returned to Mr. Speaker for his said Speech to his Majesty," which was likewise agreed to.

Adjourned to the 12th.

May 12.

No debate.

May 13.

The House in a committee on a bill for the better securing and preserving the dock-yards, magazines, ships, vessels, stores, warehouses, goods, and merchandizes, being the property of private persons within this kingdom.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* moved to fill up the blank with the words *benefit of clergy*. Sir *Charles Bunbury*.

Mr. *Combe*. Whoever reads your statute book, and sees how many crimes are punished with death, which are much less heinous than burning of ships, I am surprized any gentleman should think it not high time to put to death such dangerous and wicked incendiaries. It is true, John the Painter was hanged for burning Portsmouth dock, because there is an act of Parliament that makes it death to burn royal docks; but there is no act of Parliament to hang men for burning merchant ships or warehouses: and if John the Painter had burnt all the ships and warehouses in Bristol, he would have not been hanged. And I think the example of death full as proper in one case as in the other.

Right Hon. Sir *William Meredith*. I agree with my honourable friend, that no greater crime can be committed than the wilful setting fire to merchant ships, which may endanger not only lives and properties, but public safety. I should think this crime, above all others, fit to be punished with death, if I could suppose the infliction of death at all useful in the prevention of crimes. Sir *William Meredith*.

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But, in subjects of this nature, we are to consider not what the individual is, nor what he may have done; we are to consider only what is right for public example, and private safety.

Whether hanging ever did, or can, answer any good purpose, I doubt: but the cruel exhibition of every execution-day is a proof that hanging carries no terror with it. And I am confident, that every new sanguinary law operates as an encouragement to commit capital offences; for, it is not the mode, but the certainty of punishment, that creates terror. What men know they must endure, they fear; what they think they can escape, they despise. The multiplicity of our hanging laws has produced these two things: frequency of condemnation, and frequent pardons. As hope is the first and greatest spring of action, if it was so, that out of twenty convicts one only was to be pardoned, the thief would say, "Why may not I be that one?" But since, as our laws are actually administered, not one in twenty is executed, the thief acts on the chance of twenty to one in his favour; he acts on a fair and reasonable presumption of indemnity; and I verily believe, that the confident hope of indemnity is the cause of nineteen in twenty robberies that are committed.

But, if we look to the executions themselves, what example do they give? The thief dies either hardened or penitent. We are not to consider such reflections as occur to reasonable and good men, but such impressions as are made on the thoughtless, the desperate, and the wicked. These men look on the hardened villain with envy and admiration. All that animation and contempt of death with which heroes and martyrs inspire good men in a good cause, the abandoned villain feels in seeing a desperado like himself meet death with intrepidity. The penitent thief, on the other hand, often makes the sober villain think this way. Himself oppressed with poverty and want, he sees a man die with that penitence which promises pardon for his sins here, and happiness hereafter; straight he thinks, that by robbery, forgery, or murder, he can relieve all his wants; and if he be brought to justice, the punishment will be short and trifling, and the reward eternal.

Even in crimes which are seldom or never pardoned, death is no prevention. House-breakers, forgers, and coiners, are sure to be hanged; yet house-breaking, forgery, and coining, are the very crimes which are ofteneft committed.

Strange

Strange it is, that in the case of blood, of which we ought to be most tender, we should still go on against reason and against experience, to make unavailing slaughter of our fellow-creatures. A recent event has proved, that policy will do what blood cannot do. I mean the late regulation of the coinage. Thirty years together men were continually hanged for coining, still it went on, but on the new regulation of the gold coin, ceased. This event proves these two things: the efficacy of police, and the inefficacy of hanging. But, is it not very extraordinary, that since the regulation of the gold coin, an act has passed, making it treason to coin silver. But has it stopped the coining of silver? On the contrary, do not you hear of it more than ever? It seems as if the law and the crime bore the same date. I do not know what the honourable member thinks who brought in the bill; but perhaps some feelings may come across his own mind, when he sees how many lives he is taking away for no purpose. Had it been fairly stated, and specifically pointed out, what the mischief of coining silver in the utmost extent, is, that hanging bill might not have been so readily adopted; under the name of treason it found an easy passage. I indeed have always understood treason to be nothing less than some act or conspiracy against the life or honour of the King, and the safety of the state; but what the King or state can suffer by my taking now and then a bad fixpence or a bad shilling, I cannot imagine. By this nick-name of treason, however, there lies at this moment in Newgate, under sentence to be burnt alive, a girl just turned of fourteen; at her master's bidding she hid some white-washed farthings behind her stays, on which the jury found her guilty as an accomplice with her master in the treason. The master was hanged last Wednesday; and the faggots all lay ready, no reprieve came till just as the cart was setting out, and the girl would have been burnt alive on the same day, had it not been for the humane but casual interference of Lord Weymouth. Good God! Sir, are we taught to execrate the fires of Smithfield, and are we lighting them now to burn a poor harmless child for hiding a white-washed farthing? And yet, this barbarous sentence, which ought to make men shudder at the thought of shedding blood for such trivial causes, is brought as a reason for more hanging and burning. It was recommended to me not many days ago, to bring in a bill to make it treason to coin copper as well as gold and silver. Yet, in the formation of these sanguinary laws, humanity,
religion,

religion, and policy, are thrown out of the question. This one wise argument is always sufficient : If you hang for one fault, why not for another ? if for stealing a sheep, why not a cow or a horse ? if for a shilling, why not for a handkerchief that is worth eighteen-pence, and so on ? We therefore ought to oppose the increase of these new laws ; the more, because every fresh one begets twenty others.

When a member of Parliament brings in a new hanging law, he begins with mentioning some injury that may be done to private property, for which a man is not yet liable to be hanged, and then proposes the gallows as the specific infallible means of cure and prevention ; but the bill in its progress often makes crimes capital, that scarce deserve whipping. For instance, the shop-lifting act was to prevent bankers' and silver-smiths', and other shops, where there are commonly goods of great value, from being robbed ; but it goes so far, as to make it death to lift any thing off a counter with an intent to steal. Under this act, one Mary Jones was executed, whose case I shall just mention : it was at the time when press warrants were issued on the alarm about Falkland's Islands. The woman's husband was pressed, their goods seized for some debts of his, and she, with two small children, turned into the streets a-begging. 'Tis a circumstance not to be forgotten, that she was very young, (under nineteen) and most remarkably handsome. She went to a linen-draper's shop, took some coarse linen off the counter, and slipped it under her cloak ; the shopman saw her, and she laid it down : for this she was hanged. Her defence was, (I have the trial in my pocket) " That she had lived in credit, and wanted for nothing, till a press-gang came and stole her husband from her ; but, since then, she had no bed to lie on ; nothing to give her children to eat ; and they were almost naked ; and perhaps she might have done something wrong, for she hardly knew what she did." The parish-officers testified the truth of this story ; but, it seems, there had been a good deal of shop-lifting about Ludgate ; an example was thought necessary, and this woman was hanged for the comfort and satisfaction of some shopkeepers in Ludgate-street. When brought to receive sentence, she behaved in such a frantic manner, as proved her mind to be in a distracted and desponding state ; and the child was sucking at her breast when she set out for Tyburn.

Let us reflect a little on this woman's fate. The poet says,
 " An honest man's the noblest work of God."

He might have said with equal truth, that

A beauteous woman's the noblest work of God.

But for what cause was God's creation robbed of this its noblest work? It was for no injury; but for a mere attempt to cloathe two naked children by unlawful means. Compare this, with what the State did, and with what the Law did. The State bereaved the woman of her husband, and the children of a father, who was all their support; the Law deprived the woman of her life, and the children of their remaining parent, exposing them to every danger, insult, and merciless treatment, that destitute and helpless orphans suffer. Take all the circumstances together, I do not believe that a fouler murder was ever committed against Law, than the murder of this woman by Law. Some who hear me, are perhaps blaming the judges, the jury, and the hangman; but neither judge, jury, nor hangman are to blame: they are but ministerial agents; the true hangman is the member of Parliament; he who frames the bloody law is answerable for all the blood that is shed under it. But there is a further consideration still. Dying as these unhappy wretches often do, who knows what their future lot may be! Perhaps, my honourable friend who moves this bill, has not yet considered himself in the light of an executioner; no man has more humanity, no man a stronger sense of religion than himself; and I verily believe, that at this moment he wishes as little success to his hanging law as I do. His nature must recoil at making himself the cause, not only of shedding the blood, but perhaps destroying the soul of his fellow-creature.

But the wretches who die are not the only sufferers; there are more and greater objects of compassion still: I mean the surviving relations and friends. Who knows how many innocent children we may be dooming to ignominy and wretchedness? Who knows how many widows' hearts we may break with grief, how many grey hairs of parents we may bring with sorrow to the grave?

The Mosaic law ordained, that for a sheep or an ox, four and five fold should be restored; and for robbing a house, double; that is, one fold for reparation, the rest for example; and the forfeiture was greater, as the property was more exposed. If the thief came by night, it was lawful to kill him; but, if he came by day, he was only to make restitution; and if he had nothing, he was to be sold for his theft. This is all that God required in felonies; nor can I find in history any sample of such laws as ours, except a code

that was framed at Athens by Draco. He made every offence capital, upon this modern way of reasoning, "That petty crimes deserved death, and he knew nothing worse for the greatest." His laws, it was said, were written not with ink, but with blood; but they were of short duration, being all repealed by Solon, except one for murder.

An attempt was made some years ago by my hon. friend Sir Charles Bunbury, to repeal some of the most absurd and cruel of our capital laws. The bill passed this House, but was rejected by the Lords, for this reason, "It was an innovation, they said, and subversion of law." The very reverse is truth. These hanging laws are themselves innovations. No less than three and thirty of them passed during the last reign. I believe, I myself was the first person who checked the progress of them. When the great Alfred came to the throne, he found the kingdom over-run with robbers; but the silly expedient of hanging never came into his head: he instituted a police, which was, to make every township answerable for the felonies committed in it. Thus property became the guardian of property; and all robbery was so effectually stopped, that (the historians tell us) in a very short time a man might travel through the kingdom unarmed with his purse in his hand.

Treason, murder, rape, and burning a dwelling-house, were all the crimes that were liable to be punished with death by our good old common law. And such was the tenderness, such the reluctance to shed blood, that if recompence could possibly be made, life was not to be touched. Treason being against the King, the remission of that crime was in the crown. In case of murder itself, if compensation could be made, the next of kin might discharge the prosecution, which, if once discharged, could never be revived. If a ravisher could make the injured woman satisfaction, the law had no power over him; she might marry the man under the gallows, if she pleased, and take him from the jaws of death to the lips of matrimony. But so fatally are we deviated from the benignity of our ancient laws, that there is now under sentence of death an unfortunate clergyman, who made satisfaction for the injury he attempted; the satisfaction was accepted; and yet the acceptance of the satisfaction and the prosecution bear the same date.

There does not occur to my thoughts a proposition more abhorrent from nature, and from reason, than that in a matter of property, when restitution is made, blood should still

be required. But in regard to our whole system of criminal law, and much more to our habits of thinking and reasoning upon it, there is a sentence of the great Roman orator, which I wish those who hear me to remark; exhorting the senate to put a stop to executions, he says, "*Nolite, quiritēs, hanc scævitiā diutius pati, quæ non modo tot cives atrocissimè sustulit, sed humanitatem ipsam ademūt consuetudine incommoderum.*"

Having said so much on the general principles of our criminal laws, I have only a short word or two to add, on the two propositions now before us. One, as moved by the honourable gentleman [Mr. Combe] to hang persons that wilfully set fire to ships; the other, moved as an amendment by my honourable friend [Sir Charles Bunbury] is to send such offenders to work seven years on the Thames.

The question arises from the alarming events of the late fires at Portsmouth and Bristol; for which the incendiary is put to death. But, will an act of Parliament prevent such men as John the Painter from coming into the world, or controul them when they are in it? You might as well bring in a bill to prevent the appearance, or regulate the motions, of a comet. John the Painter was so far from fearing death, that he courted it; was so far from concealing his act, that he told full as much as was true, to his own conviction. When once a villain turns enthusiast, he is above all law. Punishment is his reward, and death his glory. But, though this law will be useless against villains, it is dangerous, and may be fatal to many an innocent person. There is not an honest industrious carpenter or sailor, who may not be endangered in the course of his daily labour; they are constantly using fire and combustible matter about shipping, tarring and pitching, and calking; accidents are continually happening; and who knows how many of those accidents may be attributed to design? Indeed, the act says, the firing must be done *wilfully and maliciously*; but judges and juries do not always distinguish right betwixt the fact and the intention. It is the province of a jury only to try the fact by the intention; but they are too apt to judge of the intention by the fact. Justices of peace, however, are not famed for accurate and nice distinctions; and all the horrors of an ignominious death would be too much to threaten every honest shipwright with, for what may happen in the necessary work of his calling.

But, as I think punishment necessary for so heinous an offence, and, as the end of all punishment is example; of the two modes of punishment I shall prefer that which is most profitable in point of example. Allowing, then, the punishment of death its utmost force, it is only short and momentary; that of labour permanent; and so much example is gained in him who is reserved for labour, more than in him who is put to death, as there are hours in the life of the one, beyond the short moment of the other's death.

Mr. Dundas, (lord advocate) spoke against the motion. The question was put; for the words 10, against them 39; but these not making a House, the Speaker was fetched from his room.

The bill was ordered to be reported, but it was dropped.

May 14.

Ld. North.

Lord North rose, and went through the wide circuit of the finances, and took a transient view of the general posture of public affairs in his progress. His Lordship observed, that the expences of the American war were great, but they were necessary, and would of course require a suitable provision. The arts of designing men had wrought upon our subjects in that country, to throw off her obedience and constitutional dependency on this, and to resist our lawful authority, by an appeal to arms. Government had taken every step which was likely to recall the colonists to a proper sense of the duty they owed to the mother-country. Lenient measures had, however, an effect very different from what might reasonably be expected; our moderation only increased their insolence; our tenderness their disobedience; and what arose from sentiments the most indulgent and affectionate on our part, was interpreted to spring from motives which never existed. Our moderation was looked upon to have proceeded from timidity, and our reluctance to coercion to an inability to support our just authority. He should forbear, he said, to recall to the memory of the House, the several transactions which took place from the commencement of the present disputes, till the Congress avowed those sentiments America had all along entertained, and had publicly declared those objects she had in view from the beginning. The avowal of independence cleared up what had been hitherto deeply involved in doubt and obscurity; and that in such a manner, and accompanied with such striking circumstances, as to afford reasonable expectations, that from that instant there would but two descriptions

scriptions of men exist in this country; namely, such as would be for exerting the whole power and strength of this country in support of its legislative authority; and such, as looking upon the task attended with great expence and difficulty, might think it better to withdraw our care and protection entirely. These expectations, however rational, did not turn out as might be expected; for the very persons who think America of the utmost importance to the opulence, strength, and national dignity of Great Britain, nevertheless contend, that the surest means of recovering it, is to abandon and desert our rights, by way of insuring them. He mentioned this circumstance merely to point out what absurdities men may be led into, who prefer partial considerations to the general good of the whole. The other description of men, who might think the recovery of America not worth the toil, trouble, and expence, were so inconsiderable in point of number, that he mentioned them merely for form sake; so that he might, stating the exception of the two descriptions just mentioned, justly affirm, that there was a very great majority of the nation at large, as well without as within that House, who were upon every ground of right, justice, expediency, and sound policy, for prosecuting the war against our rebellious subjects in America, till they should submit to, and acknowledge the legislative supremacy of Parliament, or be compelled to it. His Lordship then observed, that from a variety of concurrent circumstances, nothing decisive had been attempted till late in the course of the last summer, when, considering that the time for carrying on military operations had been far advanced, our arms effected as much as the most sanguine expectations could have formed. So matters stood at the close of the campaign. We had now every reason to expect, that the present would effectually put an end to the distracted state of that country, by compelling the obstinate to a due submission to the laws, and by affording a protection to those, who, from compulsion, had been forced into measures they secretly abhorred. The expences of this just and necessary war were, he allowed, great, and the burdens consequent of such measures heavy; however, the propriety of them being acknowledged by a very great majority of persons within and without doors, it remained with Government only to provide for those expences in such a manner, as to throw the weight as much as possible upon the opulent; or, in other words, to tax property instead of labour. In a commercial and manufacturing country, customs,

stems, excises, or taxes, which fall, or eventually affect the merchant or manufacturer, ought to be avoided; so ought all taxes of any kind, which are felt by the lower part of the community, either as raising the price of raw materials, or falling heavy upon articles of daily and necessary consumption. This could not always be the case, particularly in great operations of finance; because, when large sums are to be raised, they require suitable provisions, and must reach the body of the people, who are the great consumers; but in instances where the sums wanted will admit of it, the objects of taxation should ever be property and the luxuries of life. The taxes, therefore, which he meant to propose to the House, were to be laid strictly conformable to the system of taxation he had now explained. They would be productive taxes; they would fall on property, where that object was in contemplation; or upon what was generally understood to bear a direct relation to the luxuries of life.

His Lordship then proceeded to state the different items granted in the committee of supply, under the respective heads of expenditure. He said, the expence of maintaining seamen, including 45,000 marines, was 2,340,000*l.* ordinary of navy, 400,805*l.* buildings, 465,500*l.* Greenwich hospital, 4000*l.* navy bills paid off, 1,000,000*l.* in all 4,210,305*l.* Army in America, &c. 648,009*l.* staff in Great Britain, 11,470*l.* Hanoverians in Gibraltar, &c. 56,074*l.* Hanau troops, 18,000*l.* ditto Waldeck, 17,000*l.* ditto Brunswick, 93,000*l.* Hessians, 336,000*l.* provisions for foreign troops, 41,000*l.* deficiencies ditto, 7000*l.* artillery ditto, 48,000*l.* Chelsea hospital, 105,000*l.* half-pay to reduced officers, 93,000*l.* horse guards reduced, 1000*l.* American extraordinaries, 1,200,000*l.* Hessian chasseurs, 36,000*l.* Hanau ditto, 16,000*l.* Anspach troops, 39,000*l.* deficiency, Hessian chasseurs, 3000*l.* total expence of army, 3,773,000*l.* Ordnance, 320,000*l.* extra ditto, 272,000*l.* in all, 592,000*l.* Miscellaneous services, Scotch roads and bridges, 7000*l.* civil establishment in America and Africa, 27,000*l.* American surveys, 3000*l.* German hospitals, 41,000*l.* sufferers in America, 33,000*l.* convicts on Thames, 1800*l.* Commons addresses, 13,000*l.* expences advanced for enquiries relative to the state of the poor throughout England and Wales, 500*l.* in all, 144,000*l.* Exchequer bills discharged, 1,500,000*l.* vote of credit discharged, 100,000*l.* civil list arrears, 618,000*l.* prizes to be paid in lottery, 500,000*l.* grants

1776, 61,000*l.* three and a half per cent. 1758, 44,000*l.* land, 250,000*l.* malt, 200,000*l.* in all 558,000*l.* Total of supplies, including 56,990*l.* excess of ways and means, 12,592,000*l.* Before he proceeded to state the sum he intended to fund, he observed, that a tax upon servants was often strongly recommended, as those who kept them were always presumed to be opulent, and proper objects of taxation; that the operation of the tax would have a double effect; respecting those in the high classes of life, it would be taxing a luxury, and one too of the first magnitude; and as to the middling people of all descriptions, it could not be very severely felt. It was designed to be a tax upon male servants. With such as kept two male servants, and all who kept a greater number, it might most certainly be deemed a luxury, which rose in proportion to the number. Some kept thirty or more male servants. Every one would readily agree, that men of that description might well afford to pay a guinea each. Descend downwards to the person who kept but two, the principle held good. If the tax should press hard upon any person of that description, all he had to do was to keep but one. There was but one plausible objection to the tax; and it was, that it would press hard upon great numbers of people who kept but one, and did not keep a second; persons who possessed but scanty incomes, &c. Even in that case, he doubted much whether the tax would be much felt. Few indeed kept a male servant who would have just reason to complain; there might be some exceptions; but it was impossible for the mind of man to frame a general tax, that would not fall seemingly heavy upon some individuals. Besides, as the tax was expected to produce a large sum, and was taken in the ways and means accordingly, it would be very improper to make such exception, on purpose to relieve persons of that description from the tax; because it might, in fact, exonerate a very great number of persons that were well able to pay. For instance, those who kept but one servant would not only avoid the tax, but he that kept two, to avail himself of the exemption, might discharge one; and thus a very great number, much the greater who were to contribute to the tax, would be totally exempted. For these reasons, he would propose it to be a general tax; because it was intended to be productive, which it never could, if those who were to contribute so largely to it were to be exempted, in order to free a few individuals, who might not be proper objects of a tax, intended to be laid on luxury. Computing,
there-

therefore, that there were about 100,000 male servants in this country, that would be liable to pay the tax at one guinea per annum, he should take it, at that computation, which would produce 105,000*l*. He observed, that it was only designed to tax servants retained for luxury, not those employed in trade, manufactures, commerce, &c. because they by no means came within the principles of the law, which was to tax the luxuries of life.

The next tax he proposed to lay, was an additional duty on all deeds and paper writings sealed. The shilling stamp laid on the 7th of George the Second, produced 32,000*l*. the tax laid on the last year produced rather more; an additional tax, therefore, of eighteen-pence would produce about 48, but he should take it at 45,000*l*. This was evidently a tax upon property, and came directly within his intention. He meant to extend it to certain transfers of property in the northern part of the kingdom, to surrenders of copyhold estates in England, which, at a very low computation, would produce 10,000*l*. per annum; so that the whole of the stamp duties would amount to 55,000*l*. He estimated those duties very low, for though there was an additional shilling laid upon deeds the preceding session, they produced an increasing revenue.

The duties laid on the materials used in the making of glass on importation, he observed, was a very impolitic one, because it tended to encourage the foreign manufacture, and discourage our own. He should, therefore, move to have the duty upon importation repealed, to have additional duties, nearly equal to a prohibition, laid upon wrought or manufactured glass imported; which would, at least as far as the home consumption was concerned, give us the whole of the manufacture. It must be by the way of an excise; it was unavoidable; but when the smallness of the duty was considered, and the great advantages balanced against it, he trusted it would be found every way acceptable and beneficial. To effect this, he proposed to repeal the duties laid on by the 19th of the late King, on all materials or metals imported, and used in the making of glass; and to insure the monopoly, to lay a duty of sixteen-pence per pound, on all enamelled, stained, and paste glass, window glass, and glass cakes; and four shillings per dozen on all bottles imported. This, he said, would of necessity keep the whole glass manufactory within the kingdom. It would answer two ways, to effect the same end. It would lower the materials, and to-
tally

tally prevent the native manufacturer to be under-fold. In consideration of this very great encouragement to enable the manufacturer to pay the tax, he would propose to lay the following excises; that is to say, seven shilling per hundred on all spread glass; fourteen shillings on all other window glass; three shillings and sixpence per cwt. upon all materials prepared and used in the making of common bottles, not being vials, or intended to hold chymical preparations, garden glass, and other vials, made of common bottles. This tax, he computed, would bring in about 45,000l.

He observed, that the last tax he had in contemplation, was a tax upon another species of property, upon estates, houses, and goods, sold by auction. The tax was intended to answer more purposes than those of mere finance. Auctions were multiplied of late years, in all parts of the kingdom, to that excess, as to be very mischievous to every fair trader; and in many cases were attended with circumstances of gross fraud and imposition. But even where they were accompanied with no such circumstances, they were fair objects of taxation, and were already taxed in Holland, the country in Europe where the public burdens were most judiciously laid on. If the manner of paying a tax had any thing to recommend it, the present would; for it would at all times be paid with facility, from the produce of the sale, without putting the person who was to pay it to any difficulty. He believed it would be a very productive tax, but he should take it at 37,000l. much under, rather than over, the mark, which had been his aim in every one of them. As auctioneering was become so extremely profitable a business, and from which such large incomes were drawn, and fortunes made, he thought the auctioneers themselves were very proper objects of taxation; taking that circumstance into consideration, he should lay the tax accordingly. He proposed, therefore, to lay a tax of twenty shillings upon every auctioneer in the cities of London and Westminster, and within the bills of mortality, and five shillings upon every other auctioneer in Great Britain. This tax would have another beneficial effect, as it would ascertain their number, and places of abode, and of course render the collection of the tax much more easy and certain. The sum of threepence in the pound for every twenty shillings assigned by sales by auction of any interest in possession, or reversion, in any freehold, copyhold, leasehold tenements or holdings; and of any utensils of husbandry, farming, stock, ships, and vessels; and of any

versionary in the public funds. And the sum of sixpence for every twenty shillings arising by sale of all furniture, fixtures, plate, pictures, jewels, books, horses, and carriages; and all other goods and chattels whatever.

His Lordship having gone through the supplies, and his account of the proposed taxes, then proceeded to state the ways and means; to point out the deficiency; and to specify it, as the sum meant to be funded. He informed the committee, that the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, was 2,000,000*l.* malt, 750,000*l.* surplus of sinking fund, January 5th, 295,000*l.* ditto, 5th of April, 760,000*l.* growing produce of the sinking fund, 1,939,000*l.* duties on rice, &c. 4000*l.* American revenues, 1000*l.* gum Seneca duty, 1000*l.* from Lord Holland's executors, 200,000*l.* and new exchequer bills, 150,000*l.* which amounted in the whole to 7,452,000*l.* This then, his Lordship observed, would leave a balance, including the excess of grants, of 5,500,000*l.* so as to balance the supplies, which he stated before, were 12,952,000*l.* 5,000,000*l.* of this deficiency he proposed to fund, and raise the other 500,000*l.* by a lottery of fifty thousand tickets, at 10*l.* each; the prizes to be made payable at the bank, without deduction in money: the five millions were to be funded at an annuity of four per cent. The low price of stocks, he observed, at present, would not admit of these annuities bringing their full value; that is, for every annuity of four per cent. granted, 100*l.* subscription. The public must, in all money transactions, conform themselves to the market; and the prices which govern the market at present being about 80*l.* for three per cents. four per cents. would not bring at most above 95*l.* consequently there would be a deficiency of five per cent. or loss to the public. This was unavoidable from the state of the stocks; it was therefore the business of Parliament to make the best bargain they could for the public; at the same time taking care that the terms should be such, as would invite the annuitants to subscribe: because, how well soever monied men, from their confidence in government, or the justice of the national cause we are engaged in, might be inclined to support it, it could be hardly expected, unless in imminent danger indeed, which was by no means the case at present, that they would part with their money without some prospect of immediate advantage. Besides, should the bargain be hard, and the profit uncertain or precarious, it could not in the nature of things be expected, that the subscription would fill so fast as where

where the advantage was probable, or almost certain; on the contrary, it might fall slowly; and if in the mean time the stocks should fall, or the subscription hang, because the bargain was no object of gain, it might not only operate for the present, but throw difficulties in the way of raising money next year, when, perhaps, we should be obliged to pay a double, or treble premium. For these reasons, he was willing to steer a middle course; because he was sure it was the best at the long run. He proposed to make up the five per cent. deficiency, being the difference between the market price of four per cents. and the annuity, by a premium of one-half per cent. for ten years, which was worth 4l. 1s. and computing the lottery ticket which was to be given as an additional premium of 3l. it would raise the whole of the premium to 7l. 1s. which made the subscription worth 102l. 1s. or 2l. 1s. profit to the subscriber. Taking then, the transaction in its true light, the public would be nineteen shillings gainer; because, it received a hundred pounds for what at market, in private hands, was intrinsically worth no more than 99l. 4s.

After drawing breath some time, his Lordship seeming to be greatly fatigued, he proceeded to observe, that the interest or annuity of four per cent. on five millions, was exactly 200,000l. and the one-half per cent. premium was 25,000l. which together amounted to 225,000l. The new taxes were taken for 242,000l. which, after deducting 4000l. average produce of duty on plate to be repealed, would leave the new taxes at 238,000l. or a surplus of 13,000l. to be transferred to the uses of the sinking fund. He hoped the taxes would produce considerably more, as he had under-rated some of them, particularly the auction and servants' tax were stated considerably short of their probable amount.

As to the state of the nation, either in respect of the war in America, or the disposition of the House of Bourbon, he was rather loose and general, than pointed or explicit. He said, we continued to receive very friendly assurances from the court of France, and that no preparations were going on in Spain sufficient to alarm us, either on our own account, or that of our allies. He remarked in particular, that France had begun to disarm; and as a still stronger proof that the most Christian King meant nothing hostile, the Newfoundland fleet had sailed without a convoy, or even that sort of protection, which is given in times of the most profound tranquility; and a recent proof he had received that morning of the very friendly and pacific disposition of the court of Ver-

failles, put it beyond doubt; which was, that the pirate who had made prize of the Harwich packet, was in confinement at Dunkirk by order of that court; a circumstance too strong to require any collateral information to support his former assertion, that we had nothing to apprehend from that quarter which was likely to interrupt us from prosecuting our intentions of reducing our rebellious colonies to a state of constitutional obedience.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox observed, the great object of the war was a revenue to be drawn from America. Experience had now convinced all men of common sense, let the present campaign be ever so prosperous in point of victory or negotiation, that no revenue now, nor hereafter, was to be drawn, or even so much as expected, from America. The idea was scouted by his Lordship's warmest friends; yet the noble Lord, to amuse the country gentlemen, talks of relief from that quarter. Our burthens are to be shifted on the shoulders of our American brethren. He doubted much whether the noble Lord had ever any such serious expectation. He might have an immediate interest in affecting to think so; but whatever might be his motives then, he was certain the noble Lord would not roundly assert, or affirm, that he seriously expected America would ever afford any other revenue to Great Britain but what might be derived from her trade in amity, even in the event of a successful war, or an amicable negotiation. He appealed to his Lordship, if the tea tax was not the cause of the present war? Was it consistent with common sense, that America, with a powerful fleet and army, would enter into a negotiation to pay a tax which they had spent so much blood and treasure to resist? It was preposterous to hold out such ideas to a society of grown persons. His Lordship must surely by this time have learned, that even that House began to be tired; the sensible men, the noble Lord's own friends, are grown sick of war, and the expence attending it. Contractors and placemen, and their dependants, only wish for its continuance. If they are ashamed to take the task upon themselves, the Lords may do it for them. They will have been the means of repealing the plate tax, why not dispose of that on tea in the same manner? He endeavoured to prove, that the nation would be a loser of above ten per cent. upon the loan, which was full half a million; and that, considering all circumstances, it was the most scandalous bargain that ever was made for the public. He was certain, he said, that a shilling would never be

be got from America; for, after the repeated successes which he had often heard dwelt upon in that House, our troops had gained in America, and the cry in consequence of these successes, that America was conquered, and all was over! what was the case? The very first action in which America had the advantage, and defeated the Hessians in their post at Trenton, the American army increased immediately; our army was obliged to give way; nor had we force to protect or avail ourselves of the advantages we had gained, so as to be able to keep our ground. From this single circumstance, he said, he had a right to infer two things; one was, that our force was not equal to conquest, and that it was impossible we could expect to bring America over by fair means while we continued to insist on taxing her. He was very severe on the cruel and inhuman conduct of the Hessians, of their plundering the innocent natives, and abusing the aged and helpless. Our own troops were almost as culpable, with this difference, that the English spent the spoil, and the foreign barbarians hoarded it. He could venture, he said, to inform the House, that America had raised a very formidable force against the next campaign, with little or no difficulty, while our army would be considerably weaker than it was at the opening of the last. He said, he had frequently heard the paper money of the colonies depreciated by the noble Lord who spoke last; but he doubted, notwithstanding the painted outside held forth this day, but it would be found security equally substantial with any one fund his Lordship could devise.

Mr. *Jenkinson* supported every one of the noble Lord's calculations, going over precisely the same ground, and copied his Lordship's detail as exactly as if they had been copied from the same original. He took a retrospective view of the conduct of other Chancellors, particularly of Mr. Legge, who was esteemed a very able financier; and insisted, that the present bargain was one of the most advantageous that ever was made for the public, when so large a sum was to be funded. He allowed the events of war, or of negotiation, were uncertain; but for his part, he should never depart from his original opinion, that if America was to remain a part of the British empire, she ought most certainly to bear a proportionable share of the expence of general protection. He approved highly of the taxes, as hitting the proper medium between what was called mere luxuries, and the necessities of life. In short, they were laid upon the elegant conveniencies of life, which were the true objects of taxation

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in every well regulated state. The proposed duties, he said, were not only judiciously, but equitably laid.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* pointed his wit mostly at the honourable gentleman who spoke last, whom he considered as the real minister. He made his acknowledgments to him for that flood of knowledge he poured forth, in order to fructify and improve an ignorant and admiring multitude. His wonder, however, ceased when he considered whence those copious streams of sapience, information, and instruction flowed. His opportunities were many, and well chosen; and his counsellors great, able, and powerful. He stood in high estimation, he knew, in the highest places; yet, for all his parts, and all his acquired knowledge, it would be extremely difficult for him to shew, that the surest steps towards conquering America, or inducing the colonies to come to terms of accommodation, would be to apprise them, that, conquer or submit, they must pay the expence of conquest, or of the measures previously taken to induce them to submit to unconditional obedience. On the contrary, experience, every thing in America, and out of it, contradicted such an absurd expectation. They would, he was certain, sooner die in the field, than submit to such base and ignominious terms. He said, he was and ever would be ready to support a just war, whether against subjects or alien enemies; but where justice, or a colour of justice, was wanting, he should ever be the first to oppose it. Among other melancholy effects of the present impolitic civil war, he said, the loss of the American trade was one of the greatest. France had got possession of it; our American subjects had found the way thither. Every other mischief might, in some measure, be remedied or removed; that, he feared, would never again flow in its native channel, be the event of negotiation or hostility what it might.

**Governor
Johnstone.**

Governor *Johnstone* spoke a few words. He said, America was lost, he feared, for ever. We were not able to conquer, and they would never consent to receive us as allies, much less as masters.

Ld. North.

Lord *North* rose, but rather confined himself to the answering particular questions put to him by Messrs. Fox and Burke, than to a general defence of the American war, or to any direct assertions of success in the way of either conciliation or conquest. He said, the honourable gentlemen pressed much for specific answers to the several questions they propounded; some of which he was totally ignorant of, because they

they did not belong to his department ; others were of little or no importance ; and the greater part of them were of such a nature, as not to admit of any specific answer, because they depended upon events, of which no man could speak positively. Such as came within his knowledge he had replied to fully. If he had omitted any thing material, he trusted to the candour of the honourable gentlemen, that they would impute it to an indifferent state of health, which would not admit him to go into the whole question of the American war, or the state of the foreign powers ; but that there would be several opportunities before the conclusion of the session, in which the gentlemen might bring those subjects forward, in order for the purpose of their undergoing a full and complete discussion.

Colonel *Barré* was severe on Lord North and pledged Col. *Barré* himself that he would bring a direct charge against the noble Lord to-morrow, of his abuse in office, in respect of some of the contracts.

Lord North said, he was ready to meet any charge it was in the power of the honourable gentleman to make. He knew he had no right to ask the gentleman the specific charge, or the nature of it ; but since he was to be publicly accused of so great a crime as an abuse or malversation in office, in the face of the nation, he hoped the honourable gentleman would be so generous to let him know the nature of his accusation, that he might be the better enabled to defend himself to-morrow.

Colonel *Barré* replied, he did not wish to take any man by surprise ; he had often mentioned it before. It was relative to contracts and contractors ; but the matter he more particularly adverted to, was the article of rum, contracted to be sent from Jamaica and the ceded islands, to North America, for the use of the fleet and army.

The committee then, the question being put on the first resolution, were proceeding to divide, but Opposition declined, and the resolutions were ordered to be reported.

As soon as the House was resumed, and the *Speaker* in the chair, he acquainted the House how extremely disagreeable it was to him to stand in the situation he did all day, relative to the admitting of strangers into the gallery, some being let in, and others not. That it was the sense of the House the other day, that strangers should be let in till the end gallery was full.

full. He gave directions accordingly ; but when the Serjeant came and told him that the end gallery was full, he gave orders that no more should be admitted. However, repeated applications after that being made by several of the members, which, for the reason now assigned, he was obliged to refuse, he believed several of the members were displeased at the refusal ; he therefore wished to know what the House would have done to-morrow.

Sir James
Lowther.

Sir James Lowther said, he made no doubt but the Speaker was informed there was no room in the gallery, and that it was full ; but he begged to assure the House, that he went up to see, and found it not full, but capable of holding nearly as many more.

Mr. Rigby.

Mr. Rigby made atonement to the Speaker for his harsh expressions on Friday. He said, the Speaker ought to be supported, and that order ought to be maintained in all points. He observed, that a less good-natured man would keep order better. When Mr. Onslow was Speaker, he would not let members stand on the floor, or by the chair, or behind the chair talking ; and when the House was disorderly, he used to call out and say, he hoped the House would support him in keeping order ; and as to the gallery, and the crowd there, he knew no business that strangers, or any one else, but the members of that House, had there.

Sir James
Laroche.

Sir James Laroche said, the crowd was so great in the lobby, that it was with great difficulty he could get into the engrossing-office with a bill ; and he hoped it would be kept clear to-morrow.

Ld. Ongley.

Lord Ongley was against admitting any one into the gallery. He said, he knew no business strangers had there ; and was for having the standing order put in force.

Sir James
Lowther.

Sir James Lowther was for letting strangers in to-morrow, because he believed there would be no great crowd. He left it, however, to the Speaker himself, who he was certain would act properly.

Governor
Johnstone.

Governor Johnstone said, few would come to-morrow from the city, as the terms for raising the money was known ; but perhaps a body of contractors might come and make a crowd, and occupy all the front seats.

The Speaker

The Speaker said, as gentlemen seemed to entertain different opinions on the subject, he would endeavour to do as well as he could.

Abstract of the SUPPLIES and WAYS and MEANS.

S U P P L I E S, 1777.

When voted.

N A V Y.

1776.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Nov. 9. 45000 seamen (with 10129 marines)	2340000	0	0			
26, Ordinary of navy and half-pay	400805	2	10			
1777. Buildings, &c. Ships	465500	0	0			
May 21. Greenwich hospital	4000	0	0			
Discharge of navy debts	1000000	0	0			
				4210305	2	10

1776.

A R M Y.

Nov. 16. 20734 men, with 3212 invalids	648009	16	5			
General and staff of- ficers	11473	18	6½			
Guards and garrisons	949720	11	3			
Difference between British and Irish pay	47178	0	3			
Pay of five battalions of Hanoverians at Gibraltar and Mi- norca, and provi- sions for three bat- talions at Gibraltar	56074	19	4½			
12667 Hessians for 1777	336932	1	6¾			
A regiment of Hanau	18181	15	6¼			
Ditto of Waldeck	17370	8	2¾			
4300 Brunswickers	93947	15	8			
Provisions for foreign troops in America	41427	17	7¼			
Deficiency of pay for Hessian troops to 24 Dec. 1776	6617	5	3¼			
Ditto of Hanau	1013	16	10¾			
Artillery for foreign troops, 1777	26053	7	4			

Carried over

2254001 13 11 4210305 2 10

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	225400	1	13	11	421030	5
Ditto for ditto, 1776	5152	12	3			
Artillery of Hesse						
Cassel, for 1776	13973	16	0			
Do. of Hanau, ditto	3383	16	8			
1777. Do. of Waldeck, ditto	403	19	9			
Jan. 31, Chelsea hospital	105279	13	9			
Reduced officers	93616	8	4			
Two troops of horse						
guards reduced	754	12	1			
Pensions to widows	370	0	0			
Feb. 22, Land extras	120060	2	12			
Mar. 24, Regiment of Hessian						
chasseurs	36728	18	8			
Regiment of Hanau						
chasseurs	16326	10	1			
1285 troops of Bran-						
debourg Anspach	39,588	2	4			
Deficiency of vote for						
Hessian chasseurs	3390	18	4			
					3773592	17 10

1776.	O R D N A N C E.			
Nov. 16. Ordinaries	320111	18	11	
Extraordinaries	272705	18	1	
				592817 17 0

1777. MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

Jan. 31. Roads and bridges in Scotland

6997 13 7

Mar. 4. Civil establishments, viz.

In America.

St. John's 3000 0 0

Georgia 2816 0 0

N. Scotia 4596 10 5

E. Florida 5950 0 0

W. Florida 5900 0 0

In Africa.

Senegambia 5550 0 0

27812 10 5

Carried over

34810 4 0 8576715 17 8

A. 1777.

D E B A T E S.

197

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Brought over	34810	4	0	8576715	17	8½
American surveys	2993	5	0			
April 29. British Museum	3000	0	0			
May 8. Unsatisfied claims and demands of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel for expences on account of hospitals in Germany last war	41820	14	5			
Relief of civil officers (attached to Government) in America	32934	16	6			
Expence of convicts on the Thames	1879	10	6			
Commons addresses	13060	2	0			
June 2. Journals of the H. of Commons	600	0	0			
5. African forts	13000	0	0			
George White, for expences relative to enquiries into the state of the poor	500	0	0			
				144598	12	5
1776.						
Nov. 26. Exchequer bills discharged	-			1500000	0	0
Vote of credit discharged	-			1000000	0	0
April 18. Civil list arrears	-			618340	9	6¼
Lottery prizes discharged	-			500000	0	0

D E F I C I E N C I E S.

April 29. Grants, 1776	61288	7	1¼			
Three and a half per cent. 1758	44509	13	4½			
Land	250000	0	0			
Malt	200000	0	0			
				555888	0	6¼
				12895543	0	2
Excess of ways and means				56991	12	6¾
				12952534	12	8¼
Carried over						

		£.	s.	d.
	Brought over	12952534	12	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
WAYS AND MEANS.				
1776.		£.	s.	d.
Nov. 12.	Land, four shillings in the pound	200000	0	0
1777.	Malt	750000	0	0
Mar. 24.	Surplus of sinking fund, 5 Jan.	295832	18	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
April 21.	Do. do. 5 April	760363	14	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
May 15.	Growing produce of sinking fund	1239636	5	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
	Duties on rice, apples, &c.	3919	13	7
	American revenues	1391	0	7
	Gum Seneca duty	1391	0	0
	From Lord Holland's executors	200000	0	0
	New Exchequer bills	1500000	0	0
	Annuities and lot- tery	5500000	0	0
		<u>12952534</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8$\frac{3}{4}$</u>

12952534 12 8 $\frac{3}{4}$

The vote of credit for one million granted this session for the future army extras and expence of and loss by coinage, is charged on the next aids.*

May

* The public debt is increased five millions, borrowed at an interest of four and a half per cent. for ten years, besides a premium of 150,000l. given in a lottery; notwithstanding all which, the public debt of every kind unprovided for last Christmas (contracted during this year, whenever it shall be liquidated) will not fall much short of five millions more.

The produce of the new taxes at best is very uncertain. They seem rather adapted for experiments in the calm hour of peace, than to be depended upon in the moment of necessity and danger. It is highly incumbent on the creditors of the public to shew some attention to their interests. The years of war make rather more than one-third of the period since the Revolution, exclusive of the rebellion in the year 1715, and the present unnatural commotions. It has been proved, and is beyond dispute, that all the debt that can be discharged in a year of peace does not exceed from 500,000l. to 700,000l. the debt that must be contracted, on an average, in a year of war, can scarcely be estimated so low as 6,000,000l. the public debt must of consequence increase at the rate of 1,500,000l. yearly. This is natural death, natural bankruptcy, and, in the natural course of things, at the advanced age of 140,000,000l. could

May 15.

Sir *Charles Whitworth* brought up the resolutions of the committee of yesterday, and the Speaker put the question, that they be read.

Mr. *D. Hartley*. When the noble Lord at the head of the treasury opened this debate, he professed his intention of confining himself merely to the official and technical parts of the subject; such as the summation of the supplies of the year, the produce of the ordinary revenue, and of the sinking fund, the amount of the loan necessary to complete the difference, together with the terms of that loan, and the taxes necessary. I allow, that this is a wide field, affording sufficient matter for many days debate; but, as I think these matters by much the least important parts, I would wish to solicit the attention of the House to the general state of the nation in its present circumstances, and to set before them, separately from the confused mass of this day's debate, the clear expence of the American war, such as it is, and such as it must be, if the war continues; the insupportable burdens that it will entail upon those who have hitherto given their voices for the war; the impracticability of finding means to support it; the impossibility of success in the event, and all the ruinous consequences to the trade, the revenue, the powers, the strength, and the resources of this country. The minister may wish to divert your attention, by a multitude of other matters, from these alarming objects, and to amuse an inattentive House and nation into ruin, through the ingenious intricacies of office, and a display of his own abilities, in strewing flowers before you in the paths of destruction. I have long known the talents of the noble Lord; and so far I must say for him, though not for the cause, that if the nation will have an American war, he has performed the official part of Chancellor of the Exchequer for this year with great ability; and if I could think the war to be as just, necessary, and

could not have been at any very great distance, even without this raging fever of a civil war to precipitate the catastrophe, through which the public debt at Christmas next, cannot amount to much less than one hundred and sixty millions.

The funds for taxation are not eternal, not inexhaustible. Administration must, before it is long, be reduced either to be wanting to their own systems, or to the creditors of the public. The option they will make it is easy to foresee.

practicable, as I think it to be injustice, madness, and ruin, I should have but little more to say upon the occasion of this debate.

I shall not follow the noble Lord into the detail of the budget, but I shall keep to a more general view of the present state of the nation, and its prospects. There is, indeed, one article in the terms of the loan which deserves notice, because it betrays a great deal of what are the real sentiments of the minister, and of the contractors for the loan, of the future prospect of things. The noble Lord has told us, that every subscriber of 100l. to the new loan is to receive such conditions, as by estimation shall be all together calculated to be worth 102l. the difference being the premium for the new subscription. He has made it out thus: In the first place, 100l. of 3 per cent. stock, valued at 76l; in the next place, 10s. per annum, for ten years certain, and then to cease; this he values at 4l. more; the premium upon one lottery ticket, he values at 3l: these articles together make 83l. To complete the proposed sum of 102l. there is wanting some article that may be valued at 19l. or of 17l. to complete the value even of 100l. This valuable, upon which so high a price as nineteen years purchase is set by the noble Lord, is no other than an annuity of 1l. a year, for ten years certain, reducible at the end of that term, but not *ipso facto* ceasing. Therefore, the noble Lord must have succeeded in convincing the undertakers for the loan, that the funds will certainly continue in such a state of discredit for so many years after the expiration of the stipulated term of ten years, as to make it a bargain at this hour to give seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen years purchase for a contingent annuity, not redeemable till public credit shall once more hold up its head. This is something new and extraordinary, that even the noble Lord's merit and boast in making a good bargain for the public should be founded upon the discredit of the public funds. The minister, who from his situation must be best informed of the lamentable state of the nation, and of its prospects, cannot explain his own merit to this House, without boasting that he has sold the public discredit at so many years purchase, though he has in the same breath had the art to persuade us to another campaign, upon the promise of success, and a good event to these troubles. He produces to us here the undertakers for the loan, who must go upon the calculations according to the years purchase, as so many underwriters of the future discredit of the public funds. They know very well,
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by their tables, that a purchase of seventeen, eighteen, or nineteen years, cannot be reimbursed to the purchaser at 4 per cent. in less than thirty or forty years. For so long, therefore, have they underwrit the public discredit. These testimonies are this day to receive a public parliamentary sanction. Our prophetic omens and forewarnings on this side of the House have long been treated with flight and disregard; but now the secret is confessed; the minister has published it; the stock-broker has underwrit for it. This House has returned their thanks to their Speaker, for having laid the melancholy, but important, truth before the Throne, that the *day of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, has overtaken us*, and that we are *labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne*; and now Parliament is again this day to stamp with the seal of its authority this fatal truth. If all these tokens and warnings will not bring back an infatuated people to reason, we are gone past all hope of redemption.

Neither the enormous expence, nor the absolute impracticability of the war, seem to have any weight with us: we go on regardless both of the means and the end. I stated to the House last year a computation of the probable expence of the war, and now that the papers of last year are laid upon your table, they bear testimony to the truth and accuracy of those calculations. Those resolutions, to which I could have wished to have had the concurrence of the House, that they might have been awakened to the real state of public affairs, stand upon your journals, to shew at least that you have had early warning offered to you; and though the fate of all of them was to fall by the previous question, or the flat negative, yet they have all proved true. As long as this national madness continues, so long must the same annual expence of this unjust and impracticable war continue. Seven millions a year is the least that the expence of the American war can be stated at, either by the measure of the last year, or the adopted system of expence for the present year, and so on. Without entering into the same detail that I troubled the House with last year, you may see the difference between this year's expence and a year of peace, in very short totals. The total of the expence stated by the noble Lord for this year, under the heads of navy, army, ordnance, militia, and fundry services, amounts to about 11,000,000*l.* the ordinary peace establishment is under 4,000,000*l.* the difference, therefore, being about 7,000,000*l.* is occasioned by the American war. This is the least. I understand, that

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we have sent a recruit to the forces in America of about 5 or 6000 men; this poor recruit has been purchased at the moderate expence of 7,000,000*l*. We can only argue from so much of proofs as are before us; therefore, I would not have the House imagine me to say, that this is the whole expence. By no means; arrears upon arrears, and Hessian demands Hessian demands will make a heavy total. If you were to close at this hour this boundless profusion of madness and expence, this American war from first to last would not cost you less than twenty millions. How is this immense expence to be supported, and from what funds, from year to year? When this ruinous war shall have produced its effects in the destruction of the commerce and revenues of this country, how will all these fallings off be supplied? This is a consideration well worthy of the attention of the landed gentlemen. Their acres must, in the end, answer for all deficiencies. Their land is a sure deposit; whatever fails, they cannot run away. They are bound to the stake by the solemn faith of Parliament. There is not a loan founded upon any tax of consumption, without a provision, that, if it should fail, the first supplies of Parliament are bound to make good all deficiencies. This is a serious matter to the landed man, and should teach him the prudence to cultivate and secure the produce of all taxes arising out of consumption, and commercial superfluities. Tea, wines, brandy, sugar, and all foreign superfluities bear their share now; but when the destruction of trade brings on general bankruptcies, and a reduction of every man's superfluous expences in living, the necessities of private parsimony will dry up the sources of taxation from superfluous consumption; that is to say, of all voluntary taxation. Then comes the landed man's turn; he must fly his country if he would fly from taxation. When superfluities fail, necessities must stand in their place. Men must eat, and wear clothes; then you must tax bread and cloth. In a day of real distress you must lay the effective taxation upon producing funds. At such a time it is folly to tax follies. You must lay such taxes as cannot at option be avoided. Bread and cloth, and beer, and land, and houses, must be substantially taxed. Have not the landed gentlemen heard a language which is lately got abroad, to mortgage a shilling in the pound upon land, perhaps to equalize it, and then lay it double? These are the modern preparatory hints, which, I think, are broad enough to be understood. Why should we despond? Is there not a good untouched rental of

30 or 40 millions a year in land-rents? The rental of all the houses in England is perhaps seven or eight ten millions a year more: a shilling or two upon the land mortgaged, and a tax of 10 per cent. upon a full valuation of houses, will produce immense funds. These, I should think, must be alarming arguments coming at this time, when the fatal blow is aimed at the commercial powers and prospects of this country, when taxes of commercial production begin to shrink under the hand of taxation. This is the lot which we are preparing for the landed man. When we have lost our trade and wooden walls, the landed man must carry a musket upon his own acres, and at his own cost, and in his own person, and fight upon his own land, against any foreign invader, for the defence of his country. When the Gauls are at our gates, the sinews of a necessary defensive war must not be uncertain; the landed man must stand in the gap with his life and fortune. He alone will have any thing worth defending, or the means of defence. Let the landed man think of these things while it may yet be in time, and let him recollect that when trade and commerce are gone, the value and rental of his lands will fall, and the whole weight of all the national burdens will fall upon him, when he himself is sinking. Let me, therefore, apply to the landed gentlemen in this House, whom I consider as the guardians and watchmen of the state, to throw a golden bridge behind the minister, and to give him a retreat from the prosecution of this fatal war; and not, under a notion of false honour, to press him on to madness and ruin, through a system of unjust, destructive, and impracticable measures.

Surely the most obstinate partizan for the American war must now begin to suspect his errors, and the deceptions which have been put upon him. When the war was first adopted in this House, the cry was, that the appearance of but a few men would soon annihilate all resistance, and put an end to the matter, in less than even one whole campaign; we are now entering upon the third campaign, at the expenditure of twenty millions, and nothing done. I told you the year before last, that you would meet with a resistance of an army of 50,000 men. I was then laughed at for the prediction, though it has proved true. The last year, when you had sent armies, to the amount of 54,000 men, I told you that you would not touch a hair of the head of America; has it not proved so? They are unanimous, at home, and upon the defensive; you are unconcerted in your councils,

three thousand miles distant from execution, with every difficulty against you. Delay, which is the sure game of the defensive side, has been, and must prove your ruin. At sea, which has hitherto been our prerogative element, they rise against us at a stupendous rate; and if we cannot return to our old mutual hospitalities towards each other, a very few years will shew us a most formidable hostile marine, ready to join hands with any of our enemies. There is scarcely a port in Europe, which does not give harbour to their privateers. Their captures upon our trade has been to the amount of some millions of money, for we have more to lose than they have. The American cause gives a mask for all the nations in the world, under American colours, to plunder the British trade, which we experience every day, to our severe cost. The assistance and countenance which they receive from all European powers is too notorious to be any longer denied. Under all these gloomy prospects and appearances, let me once more entreat the landed gentlemen in this House, to cast about for some line of restoring peace, and a perpetual alliance in friendship, between this country and America.

My object, in every thing that I have laid before the House, upon former occasions, upon the plan of conciliation, has been, if possible, to restore the old system of things, under which peace, prosperity and friendship have flourished. That system has passed away, when we knew not the value of it, I fear, never to return; indeed, now I think it by no means eligible, that the old system should return. A foederal alliance, which may have the principles of duration in it, is in my poor opinion, at this time, the only safe plan. After what has passed between the two nations, and our having put the Americans to feel those powers within themselves, which they were ignorant of before, any other plan of oppressive superiority, and national claims of dominion, will only lay in store materials for some future civil war, even if the decision could be suspended by some temporary advantages on our side for the present. If I could have advised the councils of this nation some time ago, it should not have been to have pressed forward the decision of such touchy points by any needless anticipation. If I were now to presume to give a word of advice, it should be to follow the natural course of things, according to the true and unalterable principles of equal liberty and social happiness to all mankind. Give to your colonies the perfect inheritance of freedom,

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dom, while you can say, that you have any thing left in your power to give. Upon these principles, I have drawn up a motion, in the shape of an address to the King, for the peaceable settlement of the troubles in America. I do not know, that I shall actually offer the motion to the House, because I am not sure that it would stand any chance of a good reception as yet ; but I will venture to prophesy, that the principles of a foederal alliance are the only terms of peace that ever *will*, and, according to my opinion, they are the only terms that ever *ought*, henceforward to obtain between the two countries. If the House are not yet ready to receive such as I conceive to be the only true principles of freedom, I shall not obtrude the motion upon them ; I shall only desire to avow such principles, and none others, to be mine. In the drawing of the motion, I have incorporated the arguments with the proposition itself, that it may speak for itself, and remain a protest at least on my part, against the principles of those measures which are now pursuing. I have drawn it up as follows :---“ To the King. Your faithful Commons have taken into their most serious consideration, the very alarming state of this nation, from the present unhappy disputes with the American colonies, and are most heartily desirous, according to the example of their ancestors, to encourage, support, and maintain, the true principles of liberty, and through them to establish peace and prosperity throughout every part of your Majesty’s dominions. We cannot but express our fears, that in the present unhappy disputes, your Majesty has been much misinformed, as to the true state of America, by ignorant, and, perhaps, ill-intentioned informers, who have represented to your Majesty, that the disturbances there were excited by a few individuals only, but that the general sense of the continent of America was totally averse to them, and ready to submit, if but a few troops (with some degree of countenance from this country) were to be sent over. Your faithful Commons therefore finding from the subsequent events, such informations to have been groundless and delusive, are led to suspect, that the causes likewise of the disturbances may have more serious and deep foundations than have been represented. They are, moreover, led upon this occasion to consider, that all good government is established for the safety and content of the people, as expressed by the general voice, and common consent, of the members of any community ; and that, whatever superintending power or controul a parent-state may be entitled

tled to, in the infancy of any colony, as for the common good of any such colony in its infancy ; yet that the ultimate end of all colonization is, and ought to be, to establish kindred and derivative communities into perfect societies, in the fullness of population settlement, prosperity, and power. These principles are not only founded in the nature of mankind, but are peculiarly applicable to our own colonists, who carried out with them, into their foreign settlements, the seeds of the British constitution, which we flatter ourselves to be the happiest and most free in the world. These colonies, under the auspicious and friendly eye of the parent-state, have at length out-grown the imbecilities of their infant-state, and approach to the maturity of settlement and population, and all the arts of life, and thereby are become capable of that glorious inheritance of perfect freedom, which their parent-state has in former times rescued out of the hands of tyrants, with a view to assert it for the common good and use of mankind, and particularly to transmit it entire to their own descendants. As no country can arrive at its full perfection, while it is confined in the powers of a free legislation, respecting the concerns of its own internal policy ; and as the transition of colonies from the controul of a distant parent-state, to the absolute possession in full right of all their legislative powers, must inevitably (at a certain period of connexion between the parent-state and its colonies) disturb, or at least for a time suspend, the harmony of affection and mutual correspondence of interests ; and as the course of the present disputes between Great Britain and her colonies has led to that dangerous point of contention, which being originally inherent in the relation of parent-state and colony, now shews itself so serious in its aspect, as perhaps to threaten, if not amicable adjusted, the ruin of one or both countries : your Commons, therefore, think it wise and prudent, to follow the apparently natural and unavoidable course of things, and to bestow upon the colonies an entire freedom of their legislative powers within themselves, hoping thereby to lay a foundation for a perpetual and indissoluble bond of affection and alliance, in every respect as beneficial to both countries, as the connexion which has hitherto subsisted between them, in the mutual relation of parent-state and colony ; and with this additional hope of permanence, that according to all human prudence, such connexions in which there is no latent principle of future discord, may be trusted and relied upon, for the cordial restoration of peace,
and

and for all the blessings of reconciliation between this country and the offspring of its own liberty, formed in the perfect resemblance of its own constitution, and transplanted into the new world of America. Your faithful Commons, therefore, humbly beseech your Majesty, to order an immediate suspension of hostilities in America, for the sake of preventing any farther effusion of blood, and to concur with your Parliament, upon the ground-work of the foregoing principles and considerations, in laying a foundation for reconciliation and perpetual peace between this country and America."

Mr. *Rashleigh* reprobated the tax upon sales by auction, Mr. *Rashleigh* and begged Lord North to explain the resolution relative to the sale of estates by assignments, and to acquaint the House, whether leases were intended to be included in the description of any freehold, copyhold, or leasehold tenements or holdings.

Lord *North* replied, Not leases without a valuable consideration expressed; but if leases were granted for a fine, or other consideration, and of course vested a specific property in the possessor, he imagined and intended that they should be included in the words of the resolution. He lamented with the honourable gentleman, [Mr. Hartley] the necessity of laying new taxes, and the expences of the war which created that necessity; but denied that he was instrumental in either one or the other. The equity of compelling America to contribute towards lightening those burdens they were originally the cause of, was a popular opinion within those walls long before he ever entered into office. It was still a prevailing opinion; but whatever motives of propriety, expediency, or concession, on our part, might have induced us to wave the exercise of the right, the grounds of the contest had long since shifted. It was no longer a question whether we should tax them, or let them tax themselves; or relinquish and totally abandon the exercise of the right to tax them; it was simply, whether America was any longer to form a part of the British empire. If that House thought the object no longer worthy contending for, he had not a single desire or wish of his own to gratify, contrary to the sentiments of that House. If, on the other hand, the House continued to persevere in thinking, that the honour, dignity, and vital interests of the whole empire, were deeply involved in the issue of the present contest, in the judgment of all that heard him he must stand fairly exculpated from the charges brought against him by

by the honourable gentleman. The question now is, Is the bargain a good bargain? Are the taxes judiciously and equitably laid? The latter the honourable gentleman has acknowledged; the bargain with the public creditors he has found fault with. He says, that the navy debt should be reduced. I think so; and have done all in my power to reduce it. I have paid off a million; but if more of the navy debt, five hundred thousand pounds, had been paid off, as the honourable gentleman has suggested ought to have been done, that sum would of course, on getting into circulation, either as adding to the funded debt, or as added to the exchequer bills, have produced the same inconveniency now complained of. The honourable gentleman has spent a great deal of time in proving that the bargain was a very good one for the subscribers, and a very bad one for the public. It called for no long detail of facts, nor much argument, to prove how erroneous such an assertion was. He should only refer him to the market, as the most impartial evidence of his mistake, and the error of his calculations. Let him examine the price of stocks this day, and he will find, that instead of a profit of 10 or 5 per cent. which he supposes the subscriber will make, the honourable gentleman, or any friend for him, might purchase as much *omnium* as he pleased, considerably under 2 per cent. The honourable gentleman seemed much surprized what could induce him to keep so laborious an office, and carry through measures so contrary to his own judgment. The latter was a point, he presumed, the honourable gentleman could not be informed on sufficiently to speak with any degree of certainty; and as to the former, he was very willing to resign whenever a person was found ready to succeed him, who at the same time had the sanction of public approbation. By the word public, he meant Parliament; they are the public, because they are the representatives of the public. But supposing that he was as ready to resign the present laborious office, as the honourable gentleman seemed desirous he should, what could be done? The great business of the nation must not stand still; and the honourable gentleman says, no person could be found who would accept it. It follows, then, that he must be obliged to keep it, till some one be found to take or accept of it. The honourable gentleman, in his general rage for finding fault, betrayed some marks of friendship; he admonished him to take care of his head, the safety of which depended, in some measure, on the event of the American war. What-
ever

ever might be the event of the war, he never expected to have it imputed to him; he indeed heard the contrary imputed to him, by persons at the same side of the House. He was certain, either assertion was equally ill-founded; he never pressed the war in a responsible situation; he always approved of the measures, as they arose, as an individual. If innocence, founded in private opinion, was a protection, he must remain safe in this country; he did not lead Parliament, but follow it; he meant to continue to do so; and whenever that House, which expressed the sense of the nation, thought proper to wish him to retire, he should do it with content and private satisfaction, in a consciousness of having discharged his duty with truth and fidelity.

Mr. *Dempster* observed, that the noble Lord had been now *Mr. Dempster* ten years at the head of the treasury, or, more properly speaking, of the finances, as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and, instead of paying off any part of the national debt, he believed he had added considerably to it. When a person of his Lordship's confessed talents had failed in making any progress in so desirable a work, he despaired ever to see the debt lessened: he therefore thought it would be better for money to be borrowed in such a manner, that the very nature of the loan should create a virtual fund for discharging the sum borrowed; such as borrowing sums at a proportionate increase of interest, which should cease at the end of 61 or 99 years, the interest and principal to be extinguished together. It would, in fact, be paying so much of the debt thus borrowed, every year. He lamented greatly the ponderous load of debt the nation groaned under, and the multiplicity of taxes laid upon all the necessaries of life, more than any other nation under the sun, in proportion to its abilities, ever before bore.

Lord *North* said, that the matter mentioned by the honourable gentleman who spoke last, had been often talked of, even before the commencement of the present century: but, for his part, if any alteration were to be made, he thought it ought to be for short, not long annuities; for he believed the length of them, after a certain period, added very little to their value at market. This he instanced in the long annuities granted in the reign of Queen Anne, which, after sixty-nine years enjoyment, sold for as much as they did the first day they were granted, though they were to be extinguished in 30 years, namely, in the year 1807. Sir Robert Walpole had turned his thoughts to the subject very fully, and gave

gave the preference of perpetuities to long annuities. For his part, he should prefer short annuities to either. It held out a pleasing prospect; and if it was a mode of extinguishing debts, it was certainly the most direct, easy, and immediate.

Mr. Bayly. Mr. *Bayly* opposed the motion; but the House was so noisy, he was obliged to sit down without being heard.

Hon. T. Luttrell. Hon. *T. Luttrell* said a few words against the mode of contracting the debts, and the terms of the loan; but the House continued too disorderly for him to procure a hearing.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* said, he waited with astonishment for some explanations from the two noble Lords [Lords North and G. Germaine] on the treasury-bench; but had heard nothing from them on the subject of the state of Europe and America. The noble Lord (in the blue ribbon) had touched slightly on the good disposition of the French court, and his hopes respecting the happy conclusion of the American troubles; but that was all. He neither explained the grounds on which his opinions were formed, nor assigned a single reason sufficient to satisfy the public, which, by every appearance of things, had a right to fear, nay, to believe, the direct contrary. There were many articles in the extra-services which were not clearly nor satisfactorily, nor indeed at all accounted for. One, in particular, of 400,000*l.* He had asked the noble Lord before, what it could be for; and forced out at length that it was for the military chest. He said, contracts for rum had been made at 3*s.* 3*s.* 6*d.* and 4*s.* per gallon, besides freight, which brought it to about 5*s.* 3*d.* a gallon, free of duty, to be delivered in America, and the quantity was immense. For his part, when he served in that part of the world, he never understood that there was any occasion for rum to be served to the troops as aboard a man of war; and he remembered very well, that in the back settlements, when Sir Jeffery Amherst commanded there, he ordered rum to be delivered, even in those inhospitable, uncultivated regions, in very small quantities; assigning it as a reason, that it would spoil the soldiers.

Ld. North. Lord *North* said, he was surprized to find that he had deserted the accusation he pledged himself to bring forward in the committee; and had now contented himself with calling for some trifling explanations.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré* said, that if the noble Lord meant to be at all communicative, there was ample matter for him to expatiate upon:—He called on him particularly to explain the
700,000*l.*

700,000l. for provisions alone; likewise the 800,000l. for extraordinaries, of which the noble Lord had hitherto only told them that that and other 400,000l. were applied for a military chest; a very laconic explanation, but such an one as he hoped would not prove satisfactory to the House by any means; that in relation to the rum business, a Mr. Atkinson must be a very good friend of the treasury indeed! for he has paid 35,000l. for rum, without any of the requisites of a satisfactory account; for there was not even the quantity specified which he had furnished; he understood, however, that it was at five shillings and three-pence a gallon; that he had made many enquiries of planters, merchants, and others, and had found that three shillings and six-pence was a very favourable contract price; that two shillings and four-pence was a prime cost price, and desired to know if a Mr. Irvin had not offered to contract for rum at two shillings and six-pence? And also, if the Victualling Office had not contracted for it no longer ago than last Monday at two shillings and six-pence? He would not hint an idea that the noble Lord touched a penny of these contracts----he who certainly was capable of refusing LACKS OF PAGODAS, can never be reproached with the meanness of being concerned in the pitiful transactions of rum contracts. And, speaking of the losses sustained by the American war, that of the customs alone last year, he affirmed, was not less than 1,700,000l.

Lord *North* rose again to answer Colonel Barré. He said, *Ld. North.* in reply to the contract business, that nothing could be clearer than the mode of the Exchequer, passing the accounts of those who had contracted with government;---that there was always vouchers for every thing that was done, so that the completest satisfaction could at any time be had, as to the terms of the contract, and the due performance of those terms. That the contract with Mr. Atkinson was for rum of the very best proof, the finest that could be had in Jamaica, and in order that it might be known whether the rum was of that goodness, an instrument for ascertaining it was sent out. That Mr. Pelham, secretary to the Navy Board, had informed the Treasury, that their contract price in Jamaica was four shillings and four-pence a gallon, but that in addition to this, there was freight, part to Boston at six-pence, and part to Canada at nine-pence, which made seven-pence half-penny on an average. Leakage was ten per cent. or five-pence. Insurance eight per cent. or four-pence. Commission

million was five per cent. or two-pence half-penny. In all

Prime cost	0	4	4
Freight	0	0	7½
Leakage	0	0	5
Insurance	0	0	4
Commission	0	0	2½
	0	5	11

---Whereas the Treasury had contracted at five shillings and three-pence, which he thought so far from being a bad bargain, was evidently a very favourable one.

As to Mr. Irvine having offered to contract cheaper, he knew not the fact; but no other contracts were to be made than the first, as they were now left to the commander in chief, Sir William Howe. In answer to the Colonel's enquiries about the sums called a military chest, he said, it seemed to him not an improper term, as it was at the disposition of the commander in chief, for the purchase of extra ordinaries.

Col. Barré. Colonel Barré (with some vehemence of pleasantry) rose to hug the noble, noble Lord, as he called it; upon the rum affair he was perfectly satisfied; perfectly convinced of the wonderful good œconomy of the noble Lord, to get that at five shillings and three-pence, which plainly cost the contractor six shillings. Why, the poor man must be ruined!--It was cruel to treat him so unjustly; and he now plainly saw the reason why people of all sorts were so shy of taking government contracts. But this Mr. Atkinson must be the greatest idiot in the whole contracting world: did he make his contracts for four crout and porter upon the same principles? But what will the noble Lord say to rum, so far from being four shillings and four-pence, being in the island no more than one shilling and nine-pence; yet this was the fact, he knew from certain intelligence. Those, therefore, who had so flagrantly misinformed the noble Lord, ought to be reprimanded. He then called again upon Lord George Germaine to give some satisfaction to the House upon the business of the American war; that the noble Lord spoke but seldom, but he spoke with weight.

Sir James
Cockburn.

Sir James Cockburn rose to explain the circumstances of his contract for 100,000 gallons of rum from Grenada, where the current price was two shillings and a penny sterling a gallon; that there were expences in casks, &c. which gentlemen

lemen had forgot; that to carry rum from the West Indies to Boston or Canada now was an immense expence, as they were to be freighted thither on purpose, and to come back again empty to the islands. He asserted one fact, which, if true, was very strong, that he freighted five ships with his contract, and one not being loaded, he filled her up with more of the same rum, to be sold at Quebec on his own account, and that sold for a higher price than what his contract gave him; he offered to produce proofs of what he said at the bar; and said, if the Treasury would give him another such contract, he would not take it; that his contract, and it might be the same with others, was made under the expectation of the price falling, instead of which it rose.

Lord North said, that Mr. Pelham's account was four *Ld. North.* shillings and four-pence, without distinguishing whether it was currency or not; but he apprehended, that currency was meant from the certain expences he had recapitulated running so much above five shillings and three-pence; but that he would inform himself more particularly about it, and give the House every species of information they wished to have about it; as there was no contract which would not bear their closest examination.

Mr. Fox called on the House simply to remark, that forty *Mr. Fox.* per cent. was no sort of difference in the accounts of the noble Lord.

Mr. Bayly rose again, which produced fresh disorder; the *Mr. Bayly.* gentlemen in the neighbourhood of the Treasury Bench insisting that he spoke before, and had no right to rise a second time in the same debate, unless to explain. He was at length permitted to proceed, on his saying he had an offer to make to the noble Lord, which would prove a saving to the nation of full forty per cent. He accordingly offered to serve any quantity of Jamaica rum the noble Lord and the Treasury might want, or think proper to contract for, at 2s. 2d. per gallon, which was just half, on an average, of the price which had been given in all the contracts already made. The current price in the rum season, in Jamaica, was from 19d. to 23d. the gallon; and therefore said, he would have a good profit in serving it at 2s. 2d. or 2s. 4d. at most, after paying freight, insurance, &c.

Mr. Jenkinson lamenting partly the necessity of the war, *Mr. Jen-* the loss it was to the kingdom, but upholding the indispen- *kinson.* sible authority of Parliament, and blaming the bad policy of some late ministers; he reprobated, in the strongest terms,

the tea act; he condemned the whole measure as impolitic, as idle, futile, childish, and paltry. Then turning to the stamp act, he said, that measure was not Mr. Grenville's; if the act was a good one, the merit of it was not due to Mr. Grenville; if it was a bad one, the errors, or the ill policy of it, did not belong to him. The measure was not his.

Mr. Dempster.

Mr. *Dempster* remarked, that if contracts were publicly advertised to whoever would supply them cheapest, as they ought ever to be, the noble Lord would not be under any difficulties in having recourse to either papers or memory.

Mr. Dunning.

Mr. *Dunning* said, that there was no clearness in this matter of the contracts; but there was one thing as clear as day, which was the noble Lord's perfect ignorance of the whole transaction.

Lord George Germaine.

Lord *George Germaine* rose to give satisfaction to the House, why he had in the debate of the day before said that there was a prospect of a successful end to the war in North America. That as to his speaking seldom, it was not his custom to speak when he had nothing to say; but whenever he was called upon to give information to the House, he should always then speak with pleasure. As to the campaign, he thought he had the greatest reason to expect success from the army of General Howe being in good order, and more numerous from recruits than in the last campaign, while that of the rebels was in much worse order, and less numerous than it was before: that the fleet was also reinforced with some ships of the line, which were wanting last year; that he thought himself farther founded in his expectation from the minds of the people turning, from their experiencing the misery of anarchy, confusion, and despotism, instead of the happiness and security they enjoyed under the legal government of this country; that these emotions had operated so strongly in their minds, that very many deserters had left the rebel army, and come in to General Howe with their arms; many hundreds, and were coming in every day: that he had formed his opinion from the circumstances of the Congress having given up the government, confessing themselves unequal to it, and creating Mr. Washington Dictator of America; these circumstances, he thought, promised divisions among them. That another circumstance which every day proved of yet greater importance, was, their being disappointed in their expectations of assistance and support from France; they had been buoyed up with that hope, and made to believe, that a superior French fleet would be seen riding on

their coast; in all which they now felt themselves deceived, and resented it accordingly. That they had met with the same disappointment from Spain---not that he asserted they had not received underhand assistance from both, in officers, &c. but what they were promised was open avowed assistance. Yet, Sir, added his Lordship, for the protection of France they would pay largely; they have offered largely; they have, by their pretended ambassadors, actually offered to the French court all our West India islands! There is liberality, Sir! There is love of freedom, to consign so readily under French dominion and despotism the whole West Indies! Let me farther remark, Sir, that there are great expectations from the army in Canada, which last year could do no more than prepare to act; but having destroyed the enemy's fleet, they will be able to advance early in the spring, and unite with General Howe's army, adding 12,000 men to it, besides Canadians. His Lordship farther brought another circumstance, which was the infinite difficulty Washington found in raising men: he had been under the necessity of forcing them into arms for three years, yet gave them a bounty of thirty pounds sterling a man; but nothing could make it effectual, for as fast as they were forced on one side, they deserted to the other; of which there were 6000 armed New-Yorkers in Howe's army; that his army was collected chiefly from the south; for from New England none had been raised, and they would early be cut off from the south. These, he said, were the reasons which induced him to have the warmest hope that the next campaign would prove very favourable. By the last returns, which were in March, the troops under General Howe were in health and spirits, and we should have an army much more numerous than we had last year, with the advantages of being composed of seasoned and disciplined men, used to service, the inclemencies of weather, and the change of climate. He said, if the operations of war should be extended, and that it might be thought better to employ the army under General Howe in New England, the advantages would be no less obvious; it would cut out work for the northern rebels, keep them at home, and prevent them from dividing General Howe's force, or interrupting the operations of the grand army, by which means he would be better enabled to push his conquests to the southward,

Colonel

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré*. I congratulate the House upon the noble Lord for once, at last, giving any hope that there would be an end of the American war; this was what he never could be brought to do before---not one word of the kind could ever be drawn from him---The noble Lord has told us, that all deficiencies have been made good in our army by recruits from Europe. I do not clearly understand him. Does he mean their present or their former establishment, and does he include in the army the American auxiliaries?

Lord George Germaine. Lord *George Germaine*. What I mean, Sir, is this, that on the 20th of March, the date of the last general return, the army was more numerous, including the troops going on the sea from Europe, than it was when it took New York---more rank and file, without including the 6000 Americans. His Lordship again repeated, that he believed in his conscience his information was good, that matters were precisely as he had stated them; and, that he had the most sanguine hopes of success.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré*. The noble Lord seems to pride himself upon that circumstance, which he has no room for; for I will tell him the reason, the last division of Hessians were not arrived when New York was taken.

Lord George Germaine and Lord Barrington. No, no, no; we do not mean that.

Col. Barré. Colonel *Barré*. But the noble Lord gave not the least satisfaction that he did not mean it. One circumstance he builds upon much, is the unpopular and dangerous circumstance of making Mr. Washington Dictator. Now, Sir, it is very remarkable, that that account should have been denied by every private account which has come from America. Mr. Washington positively denied it. He applied to the Congress for more power, as his former authority was not sufficient for the raising and disciplining the troops voted; such an enlargement of his military power was given, but it was only relative to the army, and by no means a dictatorial authority, to include all the power of the state.

Another point upon which the noble Lord has insisted much, is, the French not openly assisting the Americans. But, Sir, he admits, and indeed he could do no less, that they have given every assistance privately; that they have sent great numbers of officers, engineers, and most ample supplies of money, arms, artillery, and ammunition; this we all well know, and every one must be able to judge whether this will not have a great effect in the ensuing campaign.

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As to the French fleet sailing to Newfoundland without a convoy; does the noble Lord recollect that that fleet will be back in June, and that there then remains full time for France, to interfere and prevent our conquest of America, which, depend on it, they never will allow. Look at the present state of their fleet; they have twenty sail of the line ready for sea: Is that a peace establishment? Is that an equivocal mark of their intentions? What in the name of common sense do they intend to do with that force, if not employ it against us?

But there are great hopes from the army in Canada; I wish those hopes may not be frustrated: there is a piece of policy to be exerted there which is unheard of; another officer wresting the command away the moment the army is out of the limits of the province; but through the whole conduct of the last campaign that commander was unhandsomely used---and it is to continue. Nor, Sir, will the operations there be in future so smooth:---Consider what was done; General Carleton destroyed twelve of fifteen of the enemy's vessels on the lake the 19th of June, but he was then unable to proceed. Does he know that the 19th of June is a very early opening of a campaign there, and if he then could not proceed, why is he now, after the Americans have had so much time to repair their losses? It will be no such easy matter,---certainly no easy matter. Yet the fleet which he built there cost, I may say, millions to this country---so much, that we shall never have the particulars.

To me it appears clear, that the Americans had the advantage in all the great leading features of the campaign---the evacuation of Boston, General Carleton's retiring at the close of it, too weak to attack Ticonderago, and General Howe not being able to bring Washington to an action, but extending his lines till they were all driven back about his ears. Through the whole of these circumstances, we have had nothing to boast.

The resolutions were agreed to without a division.

May 16.

Bills passed. Adjourned to the 21st.

May 21.

Lord *North* acquainted the House he had a message from the King, signed by his Majesty, which he presented, and it was read by the Speaker.

GEORGE

G E O R G E R.

His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and considering, that, during the present troubles in North America, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most dangerous consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them, is desirous, that this House will enable him to defray any extraordinary expences incurred, or to be incurred, on account of military services, for the year One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-seven, and as the exigency of affairs may require: and his Majesty doubts not but that his faithful Commons will enable him to make good the charges attending the calling in and recoinage of the deficient gold coin, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament passed in the fourteenth year of his reign, which remain unsatisfied, and which cannot at this time be ascertained.

G. R.

May 22.

House in a committee; Resolved, that one million be granted to his Majesty, to enable him to defray any extraordinary expences, already incurred, or to be incurred, on account of military services for 1777; and to defray the expence of calling in the deficient gold coin.

Mr. D.
Hartley.

Mr. D. Hartley desired to know, how much of the money now granted, would be wanted to make good the deficiency caused by calling in the gold coin.

Ld. North.

Lord North said, it was impossible to ascertain the sum exactly; but he had reason to believe it would amount to between 250 and 300,000*l*. His Lordship observed, that several reports had been propagated, as if the Treasury Board had made disadvantageous contracts, particularly in the article of rum, contracted for the use of the troops serving in America; and that a partiality had been practised, in giving a preference to some persons, on account of their connections and public situations. He totally disclaimed the most distant intention of the latter; and assured the House, if he had entered into any contracts, at an improper rate, it was not done with design. He had, however, enquired more minutely into the matter, since it was last agitated within those walls, and found the contrary to be the fact. He said, the contract for rum might be made for about 2*s*. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d*. sterling, on the spot; that this was lower than what was paid by the Navy-

board; that agents were employed in Jamaica and America, to see the rums shipped and unshipped, and delivered; that when cooperage, insurance, freight, and 8 per cent. brokerage, besides ullage, were taken into the account, the whole would be little short of 6s. per gallon; which was considerably more than what Government engaged to pay, by their highest contract.

Colonel *Barre* said, his Lordship was totally mistaken as to Col. *Barre*. the price on the spot, the current average price being 1s. 9½d. not 2s. 8½d. as erroneously stated by the noble Lord; that the fullest value, taking freight, insurance, brokerage, agency, and leakage, of rums delivered in America, of the growth of Jamaica, would fall something short of 4s. instead of 6s. or 5s. 3d. as mentioned now with so much confidence by his Lordship. He added, that he thought the whole transaction, relative to the rum contracts, wore a very slovenly and suspicious appearance; that it was too late now in the session for the House to take up the subject *de novo*; but, he trusted, the House would resume its antient right of checking the public accounts, already given in, early in the next session; that they would call for evidence to be examined at the bar, in order to substitute facts for the assertions indiscriminately bandied about from the opposite side of House; that if some such measure should not be adopted, this country must be undone by the contracting tribe: that the noble Lord had said, he had no gain by contracts. He believed him; but said, the mischief might be completely effected, without his Lordship's sharing in the spoil. His Lordship was surrounded by a troop of runners, dependants, &c. which was the most expensive of all troops that could possibly be kept in pay.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, from what he could learn from the Lord *Mulgrave*. mode of contracting adopted by the Navy, the contracts now so severely condemned were made upon very proper and advantageous terms, all circumstances considered.

Mr. *T. Townshend* said, it was one of the prime privileges Mr. *T. Townshend*. of that House, and became an essential part of its duty, as connected with the power of granting money, to watch the minister in the disposal of it, and check its expenditure. It was a part of their business in that House, and the leading object of their assembling, to call the minister to an account for the treasure committed to his charge. Matters of a very doubtful nature appeared, which, if not cleared up in due time, he hoped that House would discharge its duty, by

properly exercising, and, if necessary, exerting its power in discovering the truth.

Mr. *Montagu*.

Mr. *Montagu* said, immense sums had been granted; the most boundless confidence had been reposed in the minister; and it behoved him to give the House every satisfaction in his power.

Sir *Edward Astley*.

Sir *Edward Astley* said, he had strong reasons to fear, that the most shameful acts of public prodigality had been permitted, if not encouraged, by persons in authority.

The order of the day, to go into a committee on India affairs, being read,

Governor *Johnstone*.

Governor *Johnstone* opened the business, by recapitulating the eminent services of Lord Pigot, when he formerly commanded as a military officer in that country. He pointed out the several transactions his Lordship had distinguished himself in; and closed his Lordship's character by attributing to his prowess, military skill, and several other great and amiable qualities, that we now possessed a foot of territory in Asia, or perhaps even a permission to trade there. From establishing his Lordship's character on the highest pinnacle of that species of fame, which is supported equally by the mild as the heroic virtues, the Governor took a view of the state of affairs in India, beginning at the system growing out of the treaty of Paris in 1762, and ending with the latest dispatches received, either from Lord Pigot or the council of Madras. His facts, his detail, his arguments, and deductions, were uniformly directed to establish two leading points. One was, that the Nabob of Arcot, by his instruments in this country, and by the powerful arguments used by that prince, of which his ambassadors were the bearers and enforcers, had formed a very powerful party in his favour; the other, that by similar means and arguments, and agents of a similar size and talents, he had been able to form a party in his favour in the council at Madras. Though the objects were twofold, and seemingly distinct, the end proposed was the same; the disgrace of Lord Pigot, as the first necessary step to the advancement of the Nabob's interest, that of acquiring possession of Tanjore. There must be an union of sentiments and interests, both here and in India, to effect this favourite scheme. The act of the council alone might answer a temporary purpose; but as soon as government was restored, justice would be done; the usurpers would be disgraced and punished; the Nabob would be disappointed; and

and Tanjore would be restored to its lawful sovereign. Take the event in another point of view : if administration, operated upon by the same powerful arguments of the Nabob's agents here, had raised a faction among the proprietors to support that prince's pretensions to Tanjore ; and by their cabals in Leadenhall-street, had prevailed either on the Court of Directors, or the General Court, to send out counter orders to Lord Pigot not to execute the first, but undo what he had done, still the restoration of the Rajah would have been effected, the business would have been already done, by the full and complete co-operation of the council : so that a change of measures diametrically opposite to those just executed, would be dangerous or impracticable ; and the views of the Nabob would have been defeated in either event. But government having been brought over here, co-operated with the faction in council at Madras ; and by its influence in Leadenhall-street, prevailed on the Proprietary to endanger their own interest, from motives of immediate convenience, and by that means to disgrace an honourable and able servant, and sacrifice the rights of a faithful ally, to objects the most base, mean, and ignoble.

After going over this ground, he adverted to the facts, on which the business of the day depended. He said, though the council seemingly unanimous, agreed to the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore to his dominions, they secretly disapproved of the measure. He pointed out some instances, which, he said, proved this assertion beyond question. One in particular he dwelt upon. The former minister of the Rajah, when his country was delivered up to the Nabob, with his master's consent, became collector, or treasurer, of all the revenues of the Nabob. The royal revenues are, in the east, in fact, the rent or produce of the land ; the Princes in the east being the sole land-owners, or owners of the soil. This man had lived in the above capacity, in the court of Tanjore, for fifty years. When, therefore, Lord Pigot restored the Rajah, the Nabob refused to permit the treasurer to render up his trust to his old master, and commanded him to return to him immediately with his accounts. The treasurer looked upon himself as a servant to the Nabob, and was returning according to his instructions. But, the documents in the possession of the treasurer answering the end of title deeds, Lord Pigot demanded them for the use of the Rajah, and on the minister's refusal, ordered him to be apprehended. The order was not executed by the persons

entrusted till the minister had entered into the Nabob's territories, out of those of the Rajah. This was the great crime urged by the Nabob and his agents against Lord Pigot, as a breach of the amity subsisting between the Company and Nabob; and of the treaty of Paris, in which his rights were specially reserved; and this complaint being countenanced by the council, shewed plainly, among a thousand other proofs, that the Nabob was not so much displeased with Lord Pigot for apprehending or seizing the Rajah's minister in the Carnatic, as for restoring that injured Prince to his dominions in obedience to his instructions from the Company. Besides, his Lordship was entirely innocent if the act had been as criminal as represented, for his orders were to seize him in the territories of Tanjore, and not elsewhere; the treasurer's local change was neither thought of or foreseen by his Lordship; so that if it was an infraction of treaty, or the laws of nations, his Lordship stood equally innocent, within the letter, as the spirit, for he issued no orders to apprehend him in the Nabob's country.

The Governor took notice of the scandalous means made use of to vilify Lord Pigot, and depreciate his character through the channel of the news-papers. [Here a loud cry of Hear! Hear!] In particular, respecting the article of presents. It is true, his Lordship did receive a few trifling presents; he wished he had not. They consisted of a cow, an elephant, two mares, and a gold tea service, to the amount of 500l. which he presented to his daughter, then lately married. He presumed no man would say these were bribes received on the condition of sacrificing the interests of the Company, or the honour of the nation. The contrary was well known; it was indeed ridiculous to dwell upon it. His Lordship might have almost any thing he could wish or desire, if he had consented to co-operate in the views of the Nabob. The attempts made both in India and here were no secret, whatever the real success of such attempts, in some instances, might be. If, however, the facts could not be proved, the general effects of corruption were manifest. The Governor was very jocular on the persuasive powers of the worthy baronet below him, [Sir H. Mackworth] and the miraculous effects of his voice, in calling and collecting together persons from the most distant part of the kingdom, from the dock-yards of Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth; from Bristol, Liverpool, Newcastle, and the county of Huntingdon; To do what? The most extraordinary
of

of all extraordinary things, to reinstate Lord Pigot in his government, and forthwith to recall him. He pointed out the absurdity of the resolution carried for reinstating Lord Pigot; and instantly recalling him, and all those engaged in the subversion of government, under one general charge of public delinquency. Before he sat down, he said, he should move some resolutions; and, if carried, would follow them with a motion, that the chairman do move the House, for leave to bring in a bill for the better securing our settlements in the East Indies.

The Governor then moved six resolutions; the first, approving in strong terms of Lord Pigot's conduct as Governor of Madras; the second, approving of the conduct of the Court of Directors; the third, the resolution of the Court of Proprietors of the 11th of April; the fourth, approving of the first part of the resolution of the 9th of May, for restoring Lord Pigot; the fifth, for disapproving of that part of the resolution which orders his recall; and the sixth, approving of the recall of the counsellors, whose names are mentioned in said resolution.

Mr. G. Rous seconded the Governor. He maintained, *Mr. G. Rous.* that the interference of administration, even independent of its power and influence in Leadenhall-street, had reached India, and would probably effect as much mischief in the latter place as in the former. This, he said, had been brought about by more ways than one; but chiefly by the commission from the Crown, enabling certain persons therein named to be plenipotentiaries, to treat with the country powers, and enter into treaties with them independent of the Company, and without consulting it. Thus, what was not done in Leadenhall-street, was effectually completed on the spot. The Directors were rendered cyphers at home, whenever they thought proper to differ from Administration; their orders were defeated in India, whenever they carried any point here against the sentiments of the King's servants. These plenipotentiaries, he said, had done more mischief than perhaps the nation was aware of; they detached the country powers from the Company's servants, teaching them to look up to more powerful assistance. The Nabob of Arcot was a striking instance of this. Those plenipotentiaries of the Crown had filled him full of ideas of equality and independency; of equality with the King of Great Britain, as a sovereign prince; of independency of the Company, who were but the servants and subjects of his ally. These men, from views of ambition and self-interest, had filled

filled the Nabob's head full of similar notions with those they themselves were inspired with. They talked to him of the treaty of Paris, and the guarantee of his dominions by the court of France. Part of the consequences of the spirit thus raised, was the plan agreed upon between the Nabob and Mr. Hastings, for dispossessing the Rajah of Tanjore of his dominions, and annexing them to the Carnatic. The ill policy and injustice of such an outrage of every thing that ought to be held sacred and binding among men, struck the Direction with horror. They heard, with grief and astonishment, that the unfortunate and unoffending Gentoo prince was despoiled of his dominions, on a shameful, barefaced pretence of an arrear of tribute being due to the Nabob.---- The Directors accordingly sent out Lord Pigot, for the express purpose of repairing the injury, and restoring the Rajah to his territories. What has been the consequence of this? Lord Pigot undertakes the execution of the task; he performs it, as far as depends on him, with spirit and fidelity. The effect of this new system of power is suddenly felt; a faction is formed in India, to counteract and defeat the instructions of the Court of Directors. To let matters rest there, would be only doing things by halves; the new influence created in the country must be cherished and strengthened, by encouraging appeals to Europe. The Nabob employs his agents and ambassadors; they conceal themselves for a while, till they form an interest here. One of them, [Mr. Maclean] announces himself as the agent of Mr. Hastings. He acts for him, but suddenly throws off the mask, and declares himself the agent or ambassador for the Nabob of Arcot. Thus a faction is formed, fomented, and nourished, both in India and Great Britain; and the Proprietors, willing to support their servants from such unconstitutional attacks, resist every attempt to seduce them in the first instance, till at length administration making it a public point, as well as private object, by the full energy and influence of the Crown, overturn every thing that had been effected by their directors at home, or their servants in India. He thought the council at Madras had acted from the most factious and corrupt motives: because they agreed unanimously with Lord Pigot on the propriety of carrying his instructions relative to the restoration of the Rajah of Tanjore into execution; and never differed from him on any general or particular measure concerning it, till Mr. Benfield, on his own account, and as trustee for those who acted along with him,

com-

composed the majority of the council, became a mortgagee of the revenues of Tanjore, by having them assigned to him for money supposed to be advanced to the Nabob. He observed, that his honourable friend who made the motion stated the particular part of the mortgage belonging to Mr. Benfield, at 30,000*l.* and the whole, for which he stands trustee, at 250,000*l.* but he begged leave to say, that this fell infinitely short of the real sum; for, the actual sum, for which the majority of the council were creditors of the Nabob, was upwards of 800,000*l.* which he could shew from proofs not to be controverted. The worst part of the whole transaction, and what corroborated every argument used, and deduction drawn by him, was, that this mortgage, or mock loan, took place after the council knew that Tanjore was to be restored to its rightful owner, which proved two things equally worthy of the attention of the Committee; that is, that they acted from corrupt motives, in opposing Lord Pigot; and that they dared to do so on promises of indemnity both in India and England. Mr. Rous said, he wished sincerely that the House would take up the matter clearly distinct from all party considerations.

Sir *Herbert Mackworth* expressed his surprize, that the ho-
nourable gentleman should move the present resolutions so
late in the season; and said, he was the more surprized, that
he should think of bringing the affairs of the India Com-
pany at all before Parliament, when he recollected for seve-
ral years past to have heard him uniformly declaim against
the interference of Parliament in the affairs of the Company.
The resolutions, he said, of the Company of the 9th of
May, had been approved by all independent persons, and
that only those who had particular affections for, or connec-
tions with, Lord Pigot, had disapproved. He maintained,
that Lord Pigot had abused the trust committed to him, and
had, contrary to all justice and form, suspended the two
counsellors, by a trick as unconstitutional as indecent. He
had therefore acted so extremely wrong, that it became ne-
cessary to recall him. On the other hand, the behaviour of
the counsellors, in seizing and imprisoning Lord Pigot, to
the total subversion of all legal government, was equally re-
prehensible, and deserving of censure. On that ground,
the counsellors were likewise ordered to return to this coun-
try, to answer for their misconduct; but as the consequences
of the misconduct of Lord Pigot, in suspending the two
counsellors, and thereby obtaining a majority in support of
his

his measures, were not to be so much dreaded as a sudden subversion of government, and an usurpation in consequence of that subversion; to hold out an example, and assert the dignity of government, Lord Pigot was restored; but as equally involved in the most manifest violations of the constitution of the Company, and abuse of power, his Lordship was included in the general censure, or public disapprobation such a conduct deservedly brought after it. He defended the logical propriety of the terms in which the resolution [at the India House, for recalling Lord Pigot, &c.] was conveyed, and shielded it from the load of infamy the honourable gentleman who made the motion attempted to throw upon it. He said, that it might be easily conceived, and not at all improper, that a person should be reinstated to preserve certain forms, and to convey a consequential censure, and yet forthwith be recalled. It would be answered, probably, why not, after reinstating Lord Pigot, let him remain in his station for a month, or three, or six months, if required? He was of opinion, that as his Lordship had abused the powers intrusted to him, he should not be permitted to retain them a day. While he was thus explaining and defending the resolution, the House began to be noisy, and laugh, on which Sir Herbert appealed to the Chair on the indecency. However, it was but little attended to.---He then moved, by way of the previous question, “That the Chairman do now leave the chair.”

Rt. Hon. T. *Townshend* said, the honourable gentleman *Townshend* had observed upon the connections and particular affections of those persons who favoured Lord Pigot, and had remarked, that no independent man found fault with the resolutions of the Court of Proprietors for replacing and then recalling Lord Pigot; for his part, he declared himself independent on both sides of the House, neither had he any knowledge of Lord Pigot but from his public character, which he had heard from military gentlemen, and others, was most excellent. As to the India House, he had never been but once at their court, and he then resolved it should be the last time: he was therefore free to declare, that he disapproved the last resolution of the Court of Proprietors of the 9th of May, but most highly approved the first. It appeared to him, that the restoration of Lord Pigot to his government was a voluntary act of the Court of Proprietors, founded in justice; that the second, for recalling him immediately, was a most absurd contradiction of the first, and a measure brought about by

by Administration; for the Nabob was encouraged at home; he had an ambassador here, not indeed with any pompous titles, state, and parade, but a gentleman of abilities, a Mr. Maclean, who he heard, as soon as he had effected the Nabob's business by the destruction of Lord Pigot, was to return back as ambassador from the King of Great Britain to the Nabob. It seemed likewise, that he had a third master, Mr. Hastings, the avowed enemy of Lord Pigot, though once his firm friend; that Mr. Hastings had recommended Mr. Maclean to the Nabob; and it might fairly be concluded from all this, that his highness and Mr. Hastings were the contrivers of the arrest and imprisonment of Lord Pigot. He was severe on the ambitious views of the Nabob, on the supineness of the Company's servants at home, and the influence of the ministry over them; in short, he represented the majority to have been collected by the minister's industry for the second resolution of recalling Lord Pigot; adding, that he should not be surprised to see Mr. Maclean and the gentlemen of the council, who subverted the government of Madras by the most daring act of violence, brought into Parliament hereafter as borough members. So far from thinking Parliament ought not to interfere, or that the committee should be broke up on account of the late season, he thought Parliament had not a moment to lose to prevent a civil war, and the arbitrary power of the Nabob. He had always voted for the bill for regulating the East India Company, and always should: he thought them competent to manage their trading business, but not to govern large territories independent of the Parliament of Great Britain; and the moment they became influenced by the King's ministers, which it was evident they were, it was time to interfere.

Mr. *Wombwell* defended the resolution of the Court of Proprietors of the 9th of May; read extracts from two or three of the bye laws of the Company, which directs that the minority of the council shall be bound by the majority; and that when there is an equality of voices, the fate of the question shall be decided by lot; from which he drew this inference, that as Lord Pigot had broke through the bye laws of the Company, he had broke through its constitution, and had been guilty of positive and direct disobedience, he was of course no longer worthy of their trust or confidence. He spoke of the flourishing state of the Company; said, he did not wish that Parliament should interfere but when there

Mr. *Wombwell*.

was real occasion, as there was at the time of the regulating bill, which he called a most wise and timely interposition, and saved the Company and proprietors, he said, from dissolution and ruin. The effects were apparent in more instances than one; the proprietors might sleep on their pillows with ease and security; the Company was rescued from impending bankruptcy, and the widows and fatherless from penury and distress. The face of things was now, thank God, altered; the affairs of the Company were in a most flourishing and prosperous condition. The debts in Bengal were paid off; the investments were made; the bond debts were reducing; in truth, the conduct of the friends of the present motion was uniform in its effects, should their doctrines prevail, though seemingly inconsistent: for as at one time they were against the interference of Parliament, when it proved the salvation of the Company; so now they pressed a parliamentary interference, when it promised to be productive of the very worst consequences. He read an extract of a letter, relative to Lord Pigot's conduct towards one of the council, a Mr. Floyer, who at first pressed to be sent to one of the out-presidencies, but was refused by his Lordship, in order to keep him for the purpose of supporting his measures in council; but as soon as he differed from him, was for getting rid of him; and told him, that no man should ever rise in the service who opposed him. [The House called for proof of this fact, but none was produced.]

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox simplified the question, and reduced it within as narrow a compass as possible. He justified Lord Pigot principally upon the justification and representations of his enemies and persecutors, upon the accounts transmitted home by Mr. Stratton, and the other counsellors, who stood in the same predicament. He contended, that this was evidence not to be controverted or explained away. It was a record against the parties, the truth and authenticity of which they could not now dare to appeal from. He said, the effect of this evidence throughout, led to the most certain self-conviction. He gave the highest encomiums on the virtues and military talents of Lord Pigot; and was so very able, pointed, convincing, and severe, that several of the members, in a transport of approbation, forgot themselves so far, as to testify it in accents of bravo! hear him! which they accompanied with a clapping of hands. [A conduct unprecedented.] He observed, that there was a remarkable deficiency in the House, which shewed the opinion that men in office had of

the business. One learned gentleman [the Attorney General] was ill; the next in the law [Mr. Wedderburne] did not chuse to be present, to risk defending such a proceeding as that now condemned; he supposed he too was ill. A noble Lord, who was upon every occasion so anxious to discountenance rebellion in the west, might have been supposed an equal enemy to it in the east, but he is also absent---in the country. As many, however, as are absent from this dirty business, there are enough, he feared, present, to insure it success.

The Lord Advocate [Mr. Dundas] in answer to Mr. Fox, ^{Mr. Dundas.} observed, how unparliamentary it was to call on a gentleman, as Mr. Wombwell had been called on, for proof of what he said, as if nobody was to advance any thing in that House without proof at hand; and on the other side, how absurd it was to give the theatrical applause to a gentleman for a ready turn. He remarked, that the resolution of the last Court of Proprietors was when 700 were present, whereas the preceding one was when there were no more than 500, consequently the last was the genuine opinion; for as to ministerial influence, as he knew not the fact he could not admit the supposition. That the resolution of recalling all, he thought a very wise one, since it was certain they had fallen into many factions; and when once that was the case, no good could be expected from continuing them; besides, the future and proper enquiry that should be made into the transaction could not be had without Lord Pigot's assistance here; that if it was found he was injured, there were means enough in this country to reward him. Another circumstance, he said, was the impropriety of replacing Lord Pigot in a capacity of revenging himself upon all who had offended him; would you let loose Marius on the friends of Sylla? It was not a desirable situation; it was not desirable for human nature to be placed in; his character, if it was so great as represented, might suffer in such a situation; he might be tempted; for which reason it was not at all desirable to place him in it. That as to the ill consequences of his removal, it seemed to be imagined, that there was to be no government if he was out of it, but that was begging the question; besides, the orders for his recall might be gone to India, and to contradict them now might prove inconvenient and ridiculous.

General Conway said, he lamented the fate of the noble Lord, ^{General Conway.} who must continue to lie at the mercy of his most inveterate enemies and persecutors, without a possibility of redress, till re-

lieved by orders to be sent from Europe. He remarked, that the first resolution agreed to at the India House contradicted the second, and the third contradicted itself.

Mr. Wombwell.

Mr. *Wombwell* rose to explain, and moved, that some of the papers on the table might be read; particularly a copy of the minutes of what passed between Lord Pigot and one of the counsellors at Madras, Mr. Floyer, in council, relative to a difference of opinion.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* rose and said, he had been twice on his legs; first, when the right honourable gentleman [General Conway] under the gallery spoke; and a second time, when the last honourable gentleman, a chairman of the East India Company, stood up, to move for the reading of the papers. From that gentleman's situation, and his means of knowing the true state of affairs in India, he expected to have heard something interesting on the subject, and accordingly relinquished his turn; but now that he disappointed that expectation, by forbearing to say a syllable, but to read papers which were open to the perusal of every member present, he was in the judgment of the Committee, whether he had not a right to be heard.

Mr. Wombwell.

Mr. *Wombwell* replied, that he did not mean to tire out, and fatigue the Committee, with reading a voluminous state of facts already known, as had been suggested by the honourable gentleman who spoke last. He only pointed to a particular circumstance which he asserted in debate, and was called upon by the gentlemen on the other side to prove; and wished, therefore, it might now be corroborated by the minutes, taken in council at the very time the matter happened; and that in the presence of the parties. It was a collateral proof; it would confirm the conversation which passed; and which, he asserted, had passed; and therefore, he thought he was fully within order in insisting to have any papers read, which might tend to, or directly support facts stated in debate.

[The clerk began to read; the House began to be noisy.]

Mr. Ellis.

Mr. *Ellis* observed, that the Chairman ought to be supported in maintaining order; that the papers now reading were by a motion in the Committee; and that the Committee ought to support its own act.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. *Burke* again rose, and urged his former plea for being heard, in preference to the papers now reading. He said, it was impossible to contend further, the honourable gentleman was in possession; if, however, he intended by that means to

tire

tire and thin the House, he was, for his part, should the honourable gentleman think proper, contented to wait till all the heavy folios now lying on the table were read through; and, to prepare himself for the task, would send for his night-cap.--- [Here a cry of go on, go on!] Mr. Burke then proceeded, and in answer to the Lord Advocate, he affirmed, that Lord Pigot was a man of too nice a sense of honour to accept of any salvo it was in the power of administration to bestow; even though they covered him with ribbons and court favours, instead of a single ribbon and a pension. He observed, that he never heard of so extraordinary a species of proof, as what the honourable gentleman who moved for the reading of the papers produced. He asserted a fact of Lord Pigot's ill treatment of the council, and in order to prove it he reads a letter from one of the council, that is from the party, which is another assertion of the same thing. There's proof for you! But it may be complete and substantial, according to the ideas which he recommends to the great body he is at the head of. However, what the gentleman thinks, or what he so proves, is of very little consequence in this business. But the learned gentleman [the Lord Advocate] has attempted to reply to some of the ablest orations that ever were heard in this or any other assembly. The learned gentleman's argument for recalling the whole body, because factions had broken out among them, was, in his judgment, the most frivolous imaginable. If this was to be adopted as a rule of conduct, which it must be, as the argument clearly went to that, all governors and their councils must be recalled as soon as factions broke out, which would be preposterous. If this mode of reasoning was good, the Governor General of Bengal, and his council should be recalled, since there were the most outrageous factions among them; accusing each other of the most enormous crimes; Why not recall them? That the honourable gentleman knew better; for Mr. Hastings had the Nabob of Arcot for his friend; a most powerful friend in the court and ministry of England; so powerful, that for himself, if he wanted any favour of great magnitude, he knew of no canvasser he should so much wish for as that Nabob. That this same prince of the Carnatic, who, it was plain, would soon be our master in all those territories, would be delighted to hear the doctrine laid down by the learned gentleman, that governors, &c. are to be recalled when factions arise in their councils; for he would never find the least difficulty in bribing a majority, the moment

ment a governor, if ever one in future, should be hardy enough to oppose his will : his treasures would at once secure factions; and factions would secure his recall, which would be a very pretty situation for any governor and council to be in. The learned gentleman's other arguments of not restoring Lord Pigot for fear of his revenge, was of the same complexion. It was surprizing so learned a gentleman should use no arguments but what went too far; they proved so much, that they tumbled all proof about his ears. So a governor is to be illegally, cruelly, and without any adequate reason, deposed, imprisoned, and his life threatened, by a bribed corrupted council, and you are not to restore him, lest he then uses his power without moderation. Was there ever so farcical a system ! that the principle of doing mischief was to be maintained, and its consequences endured, lest by disarming the authors, and restoring authority to its rightful possessors, you might run the risk of having it exerted too rigidly on the delinquents. If this was logic, there was at once an end of law and justice.

Ld. North.

Lord North treated the power of the Nabob of Arcot, his intrigues in India and England, and the arts of his agents and ambassadors, as the ideal, ill-founded suggestions of ill-informed or designing men. He represented the Nabob as a poor, needy, miserable, ill-treated, dependent prince, without power, protection, or internal resources; and therefore, totally unable to either influence or bribe; totally incapable of persuading, by motives of fear, or through the means of influence or corruption. He defended the recall of Lord Pigot, and said, his Lordship had expressly broke through the late Act of Parliament for regulating the affairs of the East-India Company, which likewise annexes the punishment to the breach of it. That act says, That any governor, or other officer, civil or military, who shall accept of any present after such a day, shall forfeit double the value, and be incapable ever after of serving the Company. This was the letter of the act, and his Lordship had most certainly incurred the penalty and the consequence. It was not a question concerning the *malum in se*; whether accepting the tea service was or was not a crime. It was a mere question respecting the *malum prohibitum*. Had his Lordship offended, or not? Clearly, therefore, in that narrow view of the question, distinct from every collateral consideration, he did not see how it could remain a subject of debate for an instant, whether his

his Lordship was longer eligible to serve the Company in any civil or military capacity.

Mr. *Dempster* said, the noble Lord's argument was a mere quibble, applied to the case of Lord Pigot, and the character and situation of the donor. He attributed the whole of the troubles at Madras to the intrigues and corrupt arts the Nabob used to raise a faction against his Lordship, both here and in India. Mr. Dempster.

Mr. *Macdonald* allowed, that there were strong reasons to believe the council were influenced by corruption; but as there was no direct or substantial proof before the House, the House could only equitably judge according to the proofs on the table, which in his opinion fully justified the resolutions of the General Court. Mr. Macdonald.

Governor *Johnstone* replied to some objections made to his state of the case; and Mr. Rous closed the debate. At one o'clock in the morning the question was put, when the Committee divided, ayes 67, noes 90. A motion was then made, That the Chairman do now leave the chair, which was agreed to without a division. Governor Johnstone.

May 23.

A petition of John Bourke and John Barnes, members of the Committee of the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, that the petitioners are committee men for the direction and management of the affairs of the African Company, under the authority, and according to the provisions, of an act passed in the 23d year of his late Majesty King George the Second, intituled, *An Act for extending and improving the Trade to Africa*; and that the present Committee doth annually receive from Parliament considerable sums of public money, for the faithful application of which they are responsible; this public money they would be most unworthy to hold, and it would be highly improper for the House to intrust it in their hands, if they stood justly chargeable with any abuse whatsoever; and that the petitioners having a legal tenure in their said corporate office, during the term, and under the conditions, appointed by the said act, are, by the law of this land, intitled to protection for their corporate character, without which protection they will be unable to perform their duty; they have also a property equally to be protected, by the same law, in their honest fame and reputation as private citizens and merchants; their private credit, they humbly represent to the House, must be affected to their extreme

treme detriment, should any misconduct or unfaithfulness, particularly in a pecuniary and commercial trust, be publicly imputed to them, and not publicly disproved; and that the petitioners observe, with the utmost concern, a paper laid before the House, purporting to be "A Return from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, relating to the general State of the Trade to Africa, and signed George Germaine, Soame Jenyns, Robert Spencer, Bamber Gascoyne, Whitshed Keene, C. F. Greville, and William Eden;" and that, in the said return, the following heavy charge against the Committee for conducting the said trade is made, and pretended to be supported by evidence, viz. "It appears, so far from this trade (meaning that part of the African trade under the direction of the Committee) having been carried on in a free and open manner, for the benefit of the public, according to the intention of this honourable House, and agreeable to the spirit and tenor of the act which constitutes the present Committee, that a private trade, directly tending to a monopoly, hath been set up and established by the governors and chiefs of the forts in Africa; and that this private trade, so injurious to the interests of the public, hath been carried on by them in conjunction with persons at home, some one or more of whom have at the same time been members of the Committee above-mentioned;" and that the petitioners, members of the present Committee, deliberately weighing and considering all the particulars and circumstances of the said charge, do affirm to this honourable House, that the same (so far as the petitioners are, or may be, comprehended therein, by participation, connivance, or neglect) is absolutely false; and the petitioners, in justice to the character of Daniel Wier, Esquire, Commissary General in America, a member of this Committee, and now abroad on his Majesty's service in a most important trust, do assure this honourable House, that they have abundant reason to be persuaded, that the said charges, with regard to him, are equally groundless and injurious; and if any other Committee man has acted contrary to his duty, and contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said act, the petitioners are not acquainted with or privy to the same; and that the petitioners, with the feelings of injured, and the confidence of innocent, men, do supplicate from the House a full and strict enquiry into their conduct, offering themselves to the heaviest punishment which the just indignation of this House can inflict, if any part of the said charge, so far as regards them, can be made

good by the said Commissioners of Trade, or by any other persons, and most humbly request, that they may be confronted, as the rules of justice require, with their accusers; and the petitioners, in order to facilitate the enquiry of this honourable House, do wave the privilege of all accused persons, in not being compellable to answer such questions as may criminate themselves, and are ready, most chearfully, to give full and satisfactory answers to all interrogatories, without exception, which this House, or any Committee thereof, shall think proper to propose to them; and that the petitioners represent to this honourable House, that the said Commissioners of Trade are appointed, by the African act aforesaid, supreme judges and comptrollers in all cases of abuse or misbehaviour in the African trade, with the fullest powers over the Committee and all the servants of the Company, without exception, and are authorised by the said act, “to remove any of the said Committee-men, or any servant appointed by them, who shall be guilty of any misbehaviour contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said act;” and, in order to enable the said Commissioners of Trade to execute with effect the said trusts and powers, the petitioners, as members of that Committee, are also directed, by the act aforesaid, to give to the said Commissioners “a just and perfect account of all their transactions, once a year, or oftener if thereunto required by the said Commissioners, or any three or more of them, in which shall be contained an account of all the monies received and disbursed by the said Committee, or their order; and also an account of all the orders and instructions given by the said Committee, as well to their officers and servants in Great Britain, as on the coast of Africa, and all the answers given thereto by the said officers and servants employed by the said Committee, and of all other matters and things whatsoever, which shall be transacted by the said Committee;” and now the petitioners most humbly represent to this honourable House, that, if there be a foundation in truth for the many and most gross abuses stated to be prevalent in the management of the Company, by which the African trade is asserted in the said return to be so much impaired and endangered, the means of redress and correction have always been in the hands of the Commissioners themselves; and the petitioners humbly conceive, that it is a most unwarrantable proceeding in the said Commissioners, who are authorised by Act of Parliament to judge the Committee-men, and to punish them if delinquents, to omit the performance of this

VOL. VII. *H b* duty,

duty, and to charge those whom they had power to order and controul, with the consequences of their own neglect; and that the punishment and remedy, appointed by Act of Parliament for such misbehaviour as is stated in the said return, is to remove the Committee-men charged therewith from their employments; and the mode of proceeding prescribed by the act is, that “whenever any Committee-man shall be charged with misbehaviour in his employment, the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations shall summon such Committee-man to appear before them, and shall, in case he attends, hear the said Committee-man, and upon his attendance or default, examine into the truth of the said charge before they shall remove him from his employment as aforesaid;” but the petitioners represent to this honourable House, that the Commissioners of Trade, instead of summoning and hearing the petitioners, and removing or acquitting them according to their deserts, did, contrary to the true intent and meaning of the said act, and to all the rules of equity and justice, institute of their own authority a secret inquisition, and did privately examine Richard Camplin, secretary to the said Committee, and did, without any warrant from law, as the petitioners conceive, enjoin him to keep secret the matters on which he had been examined; which injunction the said Richard Camplin did comply with, and refused to give the petitioners any information thereof, although by his duty, as the confidential servant of the African Company, he was bound to inform them of any accusation or proceedings against them; and when the petitioners did repeatedly desire of the Commissioners of Trade, that they might have a copy of the said report, or the heads thereof, the said Commissioners did absolutely refuse to comply with the said just and reasonable request; and that this method of proceeding is not only injurious to the petitioners, but tends to misinform and misguide this House; the order of this honourable House, is, to lay before them a general state of the trade to Africa; the return is a partial state, relating only to that particular district which is under the management of the African Committee, which, the petitioners assert, must tend to produce a fallacious and delusive state of the said branch of commerce; and the petitioners most humbly conceive, that, even supposing this return did not contain matter tending to criminate any persons in a public trust, yet, as a mere state of the trade, it ought to have been formed on some sort of examination or enquiry of the Committee-men, who are chiefly concerned in the

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the management of that trade ; by declining this natural, obvious, and necessary enquiry, and by proceeding in a secret and surreptitious manner, the petitioners assert, and engage to prove, that a most erroneous as well as imperfect state of the African commerce, is laid before this House ; for the petitioners affirm, that the said trade, until the troubles in America had come to their height, was in a most flourishing and growing condition ; and that, therefore, all causes assigned for its decay must, as such, be improperly assigned, the effect itself not existing ; and that the petitioners do not assert that, in such a remote and complex object as the trade and settlements under the management of the African Committee, no abuses or errors whatsoever do now, or have at any time prevailed ; but they do insist, that no abuses have ever been complained of, and proved to them, to which they have not given such remedy as the case required, or their legal authority did admit ; and they most humbly submit to the wisdom and justice of this House, the mischievous consequence inevitable to every administration of public affairs, from the highest to the lowest, if persons shall be encouraged to pass over the proper department for complaint and redress of grievances, and then to criminate, for a defect of such redress, that office to which application has never been made ; and the petitioners cannot avoid observing to this House, that, in the vast multiplicity of abuses, grievances, and mismanagements, with which the said return is filled, scarce one date, place, or person, is specified, so as to enable the petitioners to discover the delinquents (if any delinquents there be) or to remove the abuse (if any abuse exists) nor have the Commissioners of Trade thought proper to communicate to the Committee the names of the accusers, or the particular circumstances of the accusations, by which alone the nature of the charges could be ascertained, or their credibility established ; the petitioners therefore do most humbly and earnestly implore the justice of this honourable House, that, for their present defence and future direction, the whole of the evidence on which the said return has been founded, together with the names of those who have witnessed the said several facts, be laid before this honourable House, or be made otherwise accessible to the petitioners, as they find themselves much injured, and the trade under their management greatly misrepresented, by the said loose and general charges ; and the petitioners, lastly, beg leave to represent to this honourable House, that, in the confused body of matter contained

in the said return, several things are alledged as grievances, which the petitioners have always apprehended, and do still conceive, to be strictly legal; and other matters and practices are complained of, as detrimental to commerce, which the petitioners apprehend to be extremely useful, if not necessary to it; these last matters the petitioners do request leave to state at the bar of this honourable House, most humbly desiring the opinion of this House on the merits of the same, being determined to proceed in all things in the most exact conformity to the sense of this House; the petitioners therefore humbly pray, to be heard, by themselves and their counsel, against all charges directly or indirectly made against them, or against the general administration of the African Company, in the said return, as also to the state of the said trade, and to all other matters and things stated in the said return, or the papers thereto annexed, in order to obtain thereby the exculpation of their injured character, and such other relief as this honourable House in its wisdom shall think fit to give.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

Adjourned to the 26th.

May 26.

Sir Charles
Bunbury.

In a committee of the whole House on the servants tax bill, Sir *Charles Bunbury* began the debate by *moving* to add, after the word *servants*, the words, “of sixteen years of age and upwards.” In opening his motion, he said, it was impossible to consider of the taxes without turning his mind to the occasion of them. That the American war, though begun upon the justest principles, was no longer justifiable in prudence or in policy; that he thought it necessary before the close of the session to declare his opinion upon this important subject, lest administration should be misled, and imagine that all those who, like himself, had supported Government in this unhappy contest, were of the declared and uncontradicted opinion of that honourable member, a brother country gentleman, [Mr. Vyner] who, on the day the army was voted, had conjured the noble Lord [Lord North] to remember that “Taxation was the object of the war;” that in hopes of forcing the Americans to contribute to the public burthen, he then voted for the large number of troops proposed, and would give thirteen shillings in the pound, rather than consent to any peace, if that object was not obtained. I, Sir, (said Sir Charles) who am, I flatter myself, as zealous a friend to government and my country as the honourable gentleman,

tleman, who have as high an opinion of the abilities and good intentions of the noble Lord at the head of administration, do implore him, not to remember, but forget the object of the war; and being convinced, that a continuation of this disastrous contest must be ruinous to Great Britain, do beseech him to use that influence he so deservedly possesses with his gracious Sovereign, to induce him to offer such terms to the deluded Americans, as may regain not only their obedience, but affections; to intreat him to employ his faithful servants, Sir William and Lord Howe, as ambassadors rather than warriors, as ministers of peace, not as ministers of vengeance.

Let the noble Lord indulge his own humane disposition, as I trust he will, in following this advice, he will not only meet with the zealous support of an unimportant individual like myself, he will, I am confident, meet with that of a large majority of this House; and what is still more, he will be gratified with the most pleasing of all rewards to a liberal mind, the heart-issuing applause of an approving and grateful nation.

I profess, I am not so sanguine as to expect a revenue from a ravaged and impoverished country; I am not so obstinate as to persist in playing a game, at which I am convinced I must be a loser; I am not so fine a gentleman, as to despise the vulgar adage, which tells us, "It is folly to throw good money after bad;" I am not, therefore, for squandering any more solid British guineas, with the doubtful and distant hope of hereafter obtaining some flimsy American paper; I am not for lavishing more millions in search of a peppercorn, which perchance we never may be able to wring from them.

It is, indeed, Sir, a melancholy consideration to those gentlemen who many years ago voted for laying a duty on stamps in America, that in pursuit of that object, unhappily entered into, and fatally persevered in, we are now on the eve of deliberating on a bill for laying an additional duty on stamps in Great Britain.

It is a mortifying reflection to other gentlemen, who have been led to support this ruinous war, from an idea that the honour and dignity of the country required it; that in attempting to maintain national dignity, they are driven to the necessity of lowering the dignity of the individual man, and that by the proposition of the noble Lord now before us,
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that proud animal is made a taxable commodity, and reduced to the humiliating level of salt, soap, and candles.

For man, in this oppressed state, I stand up a feeble but zealous advocate, and trust, if he be not entitled to favour, he will at least have the same measure of justice as his fellow-sufferers, salt and candles; and that an ounce of him will not be rated as high as a pound; in other words, that a boy will not pay the same tax as a man.

I cannot help considering this indiscriminate taxation of men and boys, as owing to an inattention in the framers of the bill, as it is directly contrary to the principle of almost every other tax bill, in which duties are levied in proportion to the value of the commodity, a principle founded in reason and equity, and sanctified by usage. Not to annoy the House with innumerable instances which might be brought in support of the doctrine I maintain, I only beg them to consider the distinctions made the other day by the noble Lord when he stated the new duties upon the different kinds of glass---the green, the crown, and the plate glass; the duties were proportioned to the value and the size---the mode was universally approved, but I apprehend it would have caused general astonishment if the noble Lord had proposed to lay an equal tax on the magnificent plate glass which adorns the stately drawing-room of the fashionable dame, and the little square bit which in the servants' hall enables her footman to tie his bag on. And yet this proposition would not have been more inequitable than that now under consideration, whereby you are required to pay the same tax for a little urchin, and his lofty, able, and far more useful parent.

The boy is certainly an inferior and less valuable servant, he ought then to be taxed in proportion to his worth; that persons, who, from their circumstances, or choice, are inclined to take up with an inferior servant may not be equally assessed with those whose ample fortunes enable them to retain the most accomplished.

As taxes on inanimate things seem not to suffice, and as this devouring war has already produced this tax upon mankind, if it should continue, which God avert! it is probable you will have other duties proposed on animated beings. If this should be the case, and a statesman was to offer to lay an equal tax on animals in an infant and in an adult state, would you not be shocked with the glaring injustice of such a proposition? Would it not strike you as inequitable and absurd,

to levy the same duty on a lamb and a sheep, a pig and a hog, a chicken and a fowl, a golling and a goole? And surely it is equally unjust to make no distinction betwixt a boy and a man!

The noble Lord [Lord North] when he opened this proposition, remarked, that the expenditure of every gentleman was a fair presumptive proof of his income. In this, as a general maxim, I will agree. He added, that the number of servants was a test of his expenditure, and that, consequently, every person paying so much per head for his male servants, would be taxed in proportion to his income.

In this additional argument there is much fallacy. The number of servants can never prove the expenditure; it is the quantum of wages allowed to such servants. If ten boys can be kept for the same sum as five men, which (wages, board, and cloathing considered, I maintain they may) the gentleman who keeps these ten boys is not richer (to judge by the test proposed by the noble Lord, that is, his expenditure) than his neighbour who keeps five men, and ought not consequently to pay a greater tax. It necessarily results, that the number of servants is no test of the expenditure; and I trust the distinction I have contended for, appears reasonable, and that if the exigencies of the state require us to lay a tax of one guinea per annum upon men servants, we ought in proportion to lay a tax of half a guinea per annum on every male servant under the age of twenty-one. But as this regulation may occasion more difficulty in the collection, and as the laying any tax upon youths under sixteen, who are of little service in families, may prevent their being taken into gentlemen's houses, as they now very frequently are, in compassion to the indigent parents of such poor boys, I propose that all male servants under sixteen years of age should be exempted from paying any tax; and in compassion to the state (which is indeed an object of pity whilst this wasteful war continues) that those of sixteen years, and upwards, should pay the full tax of one guinea per head, as if they were arrived at the age of one and twenty.

Mr. *Vyner* spoke to the American war, and said, that *Mr. Vyner.* though he should be convinced by Sir Charles Bunbury very readily, if he gave his opinion about a horse, provided he was sincere; yet he was not persuaded by him, or by what he had said, to give up the American war, though he wished to see an end of it; neither did he insist upon taxation as the mode of revenue; but if it could be got in the way of trade,

or in any other mode, it would satisfy him: but for the present, till something could be obtained, the war must be supported; and therefore he was against the motion, thinking the tax a very proper one, and the more so, as he believed it would be a very productive one.

Rt. Hon. T.
Townshend.

Right Hon. T. *Townshend* said, he was glad to find country gentlemen coming to their senses so far, as to see the fatal consequences of this American war, which he was sure they would do more and more; and that Mr. Vyner, though he would not be persuaded by any arguments, would by his feelings be induced to give up the war, as well as the causes of it; but that he, as to the motion, was not convinced so far, as to approve of it, though he rejoiced at finding the sentiments of gentlemen changed, which he believed would be the case more and more every day; that he rather liked the tax, especially because he thought it would be a productive tax.

Ld. North.

Lord *North* said, he hoped the opinion would not prevail so generally, that the tax on servants would be so productive; that he hoped it would answer the sum it was taken for, but begged it might not be taken for granted, that a tax which was merely experimental would turn out so abundant. That as to the motion, he was against it, as it might affect the tax; nor did he see the analogy of the argument to the tax, for it went rather to the weighing boys, which perhaps Sir Charles Bunbury might be used to, with lambs and chickens, and taxing them proportionably, than to exempt them; and that as he thought they were taxable objects, and employed very much in a business that could well afford the tax, and was a proper object of it, he was against the motion.

Sir George
Yonge.

Sir *George Yonge* begged leave to join issue (with Lord North) in that part of the argument, which fixed the merits of the question upon the consideration of boys being taxable objects. That it was not fair to the argument, to rest it solely on the invidious part of the consideration, which respected boys kept for horses at Newmarket; that he was no friend to Newmarket, never was there, and never would be there for the purpose of gaming or running horses; but he thought all that out of the question. He thought the question truly stated, was, whether boys were taxable objects? that, to determine this, the sense and spirit of the legislature ought to be consulted, which upon no occasion had considered boys as public objects, on which the law ought to fall. That, in the commission of crimes, the very tender age took away guilt; that
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in all the militia laws, and the highway laws, children were exempted; that particularly in the parochial laws, children were deemed not their own masters, nay, they were compelled to be bound as servants for their instruction; and that it was a contradiction to say in one law they must be servants, in a country where all servitude, with that of age, was voluntary, and then by another law, to say, they should be taxed for being servants. He therefore contended, they were not taxable objects; that the law seemed to think so till twenty-four years of age, but this motion tended only to exempt them till ten. That he could not help rejoicing to find country gentlemen growing tired of this war; that the gentleman, in particular, who said he would not be persuaded by the other who made this motion, did yet agree with him without being persuaded, probably being forced by the nature of the thing; for he had once pledged his thirteen shillings in the pound for the express purpose of taxation, but now confessed that would not do; that he would not contend for it, but be contented with a revenue obtained in the way of trade. If so, could he forget that this country had an ample revenue obtained in the way of trade before this unhappy war began, by our regulations, our restrictions, and our monopoly of the American trade. That, if so, this war was unnecessary, it was unjust, and impolitic, and we had been wasting our blood and treasure without a cause, and that he left to those who were still for supporting it, to reconcile this contradiction.

Mr. Fox said, he thought boys ought not to be taxed; Mr. Fox though he might be thought to speak partially, yet he only meant to shew, that Lord North's argument was not conclusive. He went on to reprobate those arguments, and concluded in reprobating the minister and his adherents, with the wilful dismemberment of the empire.

The House divided; for the motion 17, against it 101.

Then in the course of the bill explanations were called for, and amendments made on argument, chiefly maintained by Mr. Powys, Mr. Baldwin, Sir James Pennyman, Sir George Yonge, and Mr. Townshend; the latter, in particular, made this motion, "Provided always, that no such duty shall be assessed, raised, or levied, on any master or mistress, being householders, who shall keep one male servant only." To prevent any deficiency of the revenue by this exception, Mr. Townshend further proposed, to double the tax to be paid by masters or mistresses for men cooks, confectioners, valets

de chambre, and other such servants kept for the purposes of luxury ; and likewise a tax upon places of public diversion. These were opposed by Lord North, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Cornwall, and Mr. Jenkinson. The objections chiefly respected particular classes and descriptions, such as gardeners, chairmen, game-keepers, &c. &c. &c. Then Mr. Dunning moved to except parish apprentices, and was seconded by Sir George Yonge, which was agreed to, stinting the number of apprentices to two. Sir George Yonge next opposed the clauses relative to the surveyors, with the power of furcharging, with a reward of a guinea a head for all furcharged, and not disproved by the master or mistress ; and called for an explanation of the two clauses of the bill, which seemed to contradict each other ; one fixing the test of taxation on the list to be given in by the master, the other clause fixing it on the greatest number of servants employed for six months preceding Michaelmas next, which gave an operation to the act prior to its commencement. Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Cornwall, and Lord North, attempted to explain and reconcile this, but could not, owning it had escaped them, and desired it might be postponed till Wednesday the 28th. It was so ; and on the 28th, Lord North provided a remedy, by leaving out the clauses, and inserting one which directed, " That the Commissioners should not meet to act till April 30, 1778, and the tax should not be payable till Michaelmas, 1778." Thus the tax seems to stand over in suspense for two years. Lord North then said, he must insist on the clause of the surveyors, with a reward of a guinea for furcharging. Sir George Yonge said, this was bribing the officer to be oppressive and vexatious ; that it was new, unnecessary, and unjust ; that the window tax acts, by the powers of which this was to be executed, had no such thing, and yet those acts were well executed ; and there was no reason, why, by the same powers, this tax should not be levied without this new and dangerous precedent. He was supported by Mr. Baker, Mr. Powys, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Townshend. The House divided---Negatived ; and then Sir George Yonge contended, that as the officer was thus to be rewarded for his diligence, he ought to be punished for vexation, and moved a clause for that purpose, which was agreed to. Mr. Powys also moved a clause, that the surveyors should not enter houses, out-houses, or gardens, which was agreed to, and so the bill was gone through.

May 27.

In Committee on additional stamps, &c. No debate.

May 28.

A petition of Gregory Olive, John Taylor Vaughan, Arthur Jones, and James Bogle French, was presented to the House, and read, setting forth, that the petitioners are of the nine persons annually chosen by the Company of Merchants trading to Africa, constituted by an act of the 23d of George the Second, and are trustees to receive, apply, and account for, the monies granted by Parliament for support and maintenance of the forts and settlements upon the coast of Africa, and to superintend the conduct of that Company's servants, to whose care those forts are committed, subject to the controul of the Lords Commissioners for trade and plantations, who are by that act directed, upon complaint of misbehaviour in any of the said Committee, to examine into the cause of complaint, and, after hearing of the party in his defence, to dismiss him from his office if he shall appear to have deserved such punishment; and that, to the best of the petitioners' information, recollection, and belief, there has not been, from the time of that Company's being formed, now twenty-seven years, a single instance of the dismissal of any of the Committee; nor has there been, for some years past, any complaint to them, of the behaviour of the Company's servants; and the petitioners, conscious of their own integrity, and fully persuaded of that of the rest of the present Committee, take upon them to aver, not only the whole are innocent, but have executed the functions of their office with the greatest fidelity, and to the extent of their ability; notwithstanding which, the petitioners have the grief to observe, a paper has been laid before the House, intituled, "A return made by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to the honourable House of Commons, relating to the general state of the trade to Africa, &c. &c." purporting, that the African Committee, and other the said Company's servants, have been guilty of great malversation and mismanagement, without stating either the names of the accusers, or any circumstances of the accusations sufficient to enable the persons also indiscriminately accused to manifest their innocence; and the petitioners apprehend themselves bound to observe, the said return contains many matters, stated as abuses, which are not so; and that the mode of enquiry, adopted by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, has been very unusual,

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and, as the petitioners conceive, highly unwarrantable; the Committee having been refused to be heard, either in explanation or defence, touching the allegations in the said return; their secretary, attending with their books and papers by their orders, having been enjoined secrecy by the said Lords Commissioners in this matter of public enquiry; and the whole evidence on which the said return stands founded having been taken in private, and remaining concealed; and the petitioners are further impelled, by desire of performing their duty, to aver the direct tendency of the said return is to misinform, misrepresent, and mislead, all which they attribute to the Committee, not having been permitted to confront the accusers, nor examined in reply to the accusations; and therefore praying the House will order the whole of the evidence taken by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, in the course of this enquiry, may be produced, and made accessible to the petitioners; and that they may be heard, by themselves or counsel, at the bar of the House, concerning the same and the said return, on the part of themselves and the rest of the Committee of the Company of merchants trading to Africa.

Ordered, That the said petition be referred to the consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

Mr. Luttrell.

Mr. *Luttrell*, who was himself the original mover of the consideration of this return from the Board of Trade, now rose to object to the speaker leaving the chair; apprehensive lest, by a long train of crimination and defence of the parties therein charged, which might perhaps take up the few days that remained for public business, the main object of the legislature, the general state of the African trade, would be totally lost sight of for the present session. Mr. *Luttrell* strongly reprehended the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations for bringing in an abstracted, partial report relative to scarce one-fourth part of the whole African commerce, (considering either extent of territory and coast, or present returns of profit) when the address from Parliament to the Crown, for an enquiry into the trade of Africa altogether, was as clear and peremptory as the English language could express. He was indeed of opinion, that, with such strong charges against the gentlemen of the committee, individually on the part of a public board, and some of which gentlemen he knew bore in the world a character perfectly respectable, (one of them an honourable member of that House) they ought, in justice and in humanity, to be fully heard in their defence,

defence ; but he could only consider that defence as a secondary object with Parliament, and as such was ready to give it all due attention. The primary object, a most necessary and essential one at this juncture, was the preservation and improvement of the African trade.

The African trade is certainly a matter of the first importance to Great Britain ; and not become the less so from the decline of our commerce in every other quarter of the globe. When he reflected how essential it was to our national revenue, to the sale of many articles of our Indian imports and home manufactures, to our mercantile navigation and naval power, and to the existence of our American islands, he could not but express his astonishment, that the ministers should not much earlier than the present day have made it a business for their most serious attention and care. Government, to have left the trade of Africa in the condition it has been for some years past, he considered not only unwise but unpardonable. He begged the indulgence and patience of the House, while he took as concise a view of the general state of our commerce to that part of the world, as the nature of so diffuse a subject would admit of. He should be led to touch on many gross errors among persons in power, and much state impolicy, as well as abuses of individuals, which have conspired to bring your traffic with the natives along that immense stretch of coast, to its present disadvantageous and ruinous situation. He would then humbly submit to their consideration an idea or two which arose in his mind, towards re-establishing our commerce in those parts, and which, in all probability, might tend to give it new life and vigour. The British trade in Africa, (following the many bays and headlands) extends near 9000 of our miles, viz. from Port Sallee in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope. The first trade worth mentioning, carried on with those people, was in the reign of Queen Elizabeth ; anno 1587, a company was established to Senegal and Gambia, with various exclusive privileges ; under James I. Charles I. and during the protectorate, merchants adventurers were encouraged to carry on an open and general trade ; and many persons of exalted rank and character had specific and exclusive grants for the Guinea countries ; a fort was erected at Corman-tine, on the gold coast, and another on the Gambia river. Soon after the restoration, a royal African company was formed ; his Highness the Duke of York being governor : but the jealousies, insults, and depredations of the Dutch greatly in-

injured those new projectors, and in no trifling degree contributed towards our first naval rupture with the United Provinces. De Ruyter, and other active sea commanders of that republic, demolished our forts and settlements, and committed hostilities of such weight and consequence, that the succeeding peace in 1667, afforded but little relief to our traders; so that when the second war was declared against Holland in 1672, the then joint-stock company, with extreme readiness, relinquished and assigned over their rights and possessions, to a new, royal, African society of merchants adventurers, who were also under the Duke of York in character of their governor. In 1697, Parliament laid open the African trade to British subjects universally. The last royal African company being under great difficulties, in the year 1730, 10,000*l.* was allowed by the legislature towards supporting the forts and factories. In 1749, and the two following years, satisfaction being made to the royal African company, their forts and effects were vested by Parliament in a company of free traders to Africa, under the direction of a committee, from Port Sallee to the Cape of Good Hope, open to all British subjects; but that part of the western coast which lies between Cape Blanco and Cape Rouge, is, by an Act of Parliament passed in 1765, vested in the Crown; and from Cape Rouge to the Cape of Good Hope, where there are forts, remains under the committee, the members of which are not suffered by law to trade in their joint capacity, neither ought they, directly or indirectly, in their distinct capacity. Three of the nine committee-men are chosen for London, three for Bristol, and three for Liverpool; the only towns that have a trade to that part of the world, excepting Lancaster---comparatively with the rest scarce worth noticing. The act of 1749 requires these committee-men to be chosen annually by persons trading, or intending to trade to Africa. Forty shillings is the qualification necessary by that act to capacitate a freeman to vote. Through indirect artifices, and venal influence, the real and substantial African traders are deprived of an effective choice. The choice depends on the occasional suffrages of certain corrupt persons, and needy hirelings. Hence, in 1772, no fewer than 1425 names were on the register of freemen of the London trade to Africa, scarce one hundred of which had ever been interested in any African ship or African commodity; and not fifty of that hundred were actually in the least shape concerned in the African trade at the time of voting. In

1771, 194 freemen were added to the list in one day, many of whom were members of Parliament, others were East-India directors, not a few tavern-keepers, shoe-makers, butchers, barbers, lamplighters, pastry-cooks, persons under age, and persons without any known residence or occupation---a most singular and curious medley of commercial adventurers ! The trade of the ivory and gold coasts, which is more immediately the object of the committee's administration, has very much decreased of late years, while the general trade of Africa, south of the gold coast, has exceedingly flourished ; and about the commencement of the present King's reign, and till the year 1771, (inclusive) improved to a prodigious amount. The African trade gave about that time to Great-Britain 2,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, employed 50,000 ton of shipping *communibus annis*, and furnished your colonies with 40,000 labourers : from 1735 to 1763, from the gold coast, at an average, were shipped yearly 13,000 Negroes ; and in 1752, Liverpool sent 32 large ships to the gold coast, of 58, from that port, fitted out for the whole African trade, and those 32 ships got 8232 Negroes. In 1771, when our trade to Africa was in the greatest height of its prosperity, insomuch that 195 vessels were employed in it from Great Britain, besides between 60 and 70 from the continent of North America, although Liverpool alone counted no fewer than 106 of the number, only 14 could be supplied at the gold coast, and those 14 procured but 3400 slaves. Six thousand slaves is the utmost calculation of what we now purchase annually on the gold coast, exclusive of the Benin and Callabar Negroes, who are frequently moved towards the north-west to enhance their value. The quantity of gold brought home to England in the time of the royal African company, amounted to near half a million sterling *per annum*, reckoning from 120 to 150,000 ounces ; an article, which now is so far from being productive, that you are obliged to carry gold to the African markets. And your ivory trade is likewise gone to nothing. In 1749, at the establishment of the committee, gold was estimated under 42 shillings per ounce on the coast ; it is now above double that value. An able male Anamaboe-slave was rated at between 9 and 10*l.* sterling, and sold in the British West-Indies for 29 or 30*l.* sterling. Last year a Negro of the same description came, at first cost, to 27*l.* 18*s.* and fetched in the island of Jamaica, 68 or 69*l.* currency, (near 50*l.* sterling.) On the gold coast are 11 forts, (between Cape Apo-

Apollonia and the river Lagos) three of which are, in the opinion of many intelligent persons, utterly unnecessary, except as marks of possession, and two have hitherto most frequently proved hurtful to your commerce; 13,000*l. per annum* has been usually granted by Parliament for several years past, and often 15,000*l.* to support these forts, which still remain, according to the last account given in by Captain Cornwallis, in a very ruinous, filthy, and indefensible state, having, some of them, neither artillery nor ammunition, though their maintenance has cost the nation since the dissolution of the last joint-stock company, more than 360,000*l. sterling*. Instead of drawing awe and respect from the natives and rival states of Europe, who have garrisons and factories within gunshot of yours, they only attract insult and ridicule. They have chiefly been used as warehouses for the very worst species of monopoly---a monopoly carried on by public servants under the colour of legislative authority, and rather for the destruction than for the protection and safeguard of the free British trader. I am confidently assured, that the expenditure of little more than 1000*l. sterling per annum*, for each fort one with another, amounting to between 7 and 8000*l.* for the only forts of real necessity or local strength, would be amply sufficient, according to their present scale of magnitude and establishment. I am disinclined to advance any more money to be vested in goods, and disposed of at the discretion of these monopolists, and to encourage the like abuses. They were not warranted in an anticipation of the annual gift of Parliament, which indeed ought to have been put in another channel long ago, unless a more satisfactory account could have been produced of prior expenditures. The servants of the committee pretend to have an out-standing demand on a balance of scarcely less by this time than 20,000*l. sterling*; if you remit the money they are now solicitous to obtain, we can easily conceive to what purposes it will be applied; not a shilling to the forts and settlements. The African committee, (I understand by the committee, the directors in general of the African trade, where there have been any forts for these last six and twenty years, not meaning to criminate, nor to exculpate the present gentlemen individually, whose conduct remains for trial, in consequence of the present report upon your table) I say, Sir, the African committees have acted contrary to the trust reposed in them, they have been certainly abettors of the guilt, if not principals in it; have misconstrued the import and spirit of the
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the act, which was however very absurdly worded;—they have perverted the true intent of the legislature; have acted diametrically contrary to the real interest of the nation, and nearly annihilated your trade; neither can so destructive a system of folly and mismanagement be too soon abolished.

I should humbly presume that, the best policy we can now devise at the end of a session, will be to admit a preparatory motion toward annulling next year the act of 1749, and bringing a new bill into Parliament, for constituting the African trade on better principles of policy, such as may render it as humane and equitable as the nature of the traffic will allow of towards the natives of the country, advantageous to the British adventurer, tending to the prosperity of your general commerce, and to the support and benefit of your West-India Islands. For my own part, (with all due deference to superior talents and authority) I conceive it will be found the most eligible measure to create and establish two distinct companies trading on a joint stock: one company for the northern nations and districts, who chiefly follow the Mahomedan profession, and speak certain Moriscan dialects, derived from the Arabic language, and who occupy an extent of coast of about 2000 miles; reaching from port Sallee to the river of St. Paul. The other company of traders, to begin from the said river of St. Paul, and extend to the river Lagos, which takes in all the Ivory and Gold Coast, and includes the Southermost of our forts at Widah: this might be made perhaps the richest and most important part of your trade with Africa, and runs nearly from west to east 2000 miles, the rest of that continent comprehending Bonny, both Calabars, the lower Guinea in general, and away to the Cape, that is upwards of 4000 miles further, I would leave entirely open as it is at present. By this policy there would arise a zealous emulation between two Companies, and the open trade to the Southward might stimulate each to the most active exertion, and serve as a check to either, or to both conjointly, so as to keep their dealings within limits of reasonable gain. I am clear that true policy will direct us either to a mode of reform similar to this, or else to a free trade indiscriminately to all enterprizers, from one extremity of the vast African continent to the other. But, from the present state of the Northern regions and countries of Upper Guinea, as well politically as geographically considered, clear I am that nothing but much labour and industry, and great collective resources, as well as national encouragement and support, can restore

our African trade to any degree of value. I think that trade would, constitutionally considered, be much safer, much better managed for the public interest, were it under the governance of a Company trading with joint funds, than under the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, or either Secretary of state. I can't allow that they have at all improved or extended your trade in the Senegambia quarter. Heretofore we had stations and warehouses, and open communications for a variety of traffic 600 miles up the Gambia river, with no less than 17 regular factories. They fell with the last Royal African Company, and I cannot learn that any one of them has been recovered by the care of the Ministers of the Crown. The trade of Senegambia is far from that state in which it ought to be at this day, after costing the nation, in its civil and military establishment, extras, ordnance, &c. &c. since 1766, near 180,000*l.* sterling. In the Gold Coast country, and the interior of those regions, you had in former times roads of communication from 4 to 700 miles in length, chiefly cut through thick woods and defiles; these roads were five in number: and at the end of every day's journey (of about ten or twelve leagues) were store-rooms, houses of repose and refreshment, and British colours flying. These are now mostly choaked up, the buildings deserted and in ruins, the intercourse between Europeans and the inland natives at an end, obstacles still augmenting: but the continual wars that have prevailed for many years past, between the Confederate States near the sea coast and the Sovereign Princes of the interior nations, (wars which have been at times too, not a little promoted and aggravated by the misconduct and bad policy of Dutch and English agents, and settlers) have brought the African trade in such jeopardy, that nothing but a capital joint-stock, properly employed for putting your forts in good order, and re-establishing your power and credit there on such footing as to induce the Dutch cheerfully to go hand in hand with you to open the trade with the Africans, for the mutual benefit of all parties, can avail in the present state of things. Some gentlemen may indeed object to the slave trade as inhumane and impious; but let us consider that, if our colonies are to be maintained and cultivated, which can only be done by African negroes, it is surely better to supply ourselves with those labourers in British bottoms, than purchase them through the medium of French, Dutch, or Danish factors; the numbers must naturally much decline, if you were to trust merely to those who are born in servitude.

servitude from the Blacks already seasoned and established in Your sugar islands. Indeed, hard as the case of a negroe-slave may appear to a free born Briton at first view, I conceive him to be far less an object of commiseration (his native state and local birthright taken into the comparison) than a poor, impressed sailor within this island; his confinement is not so strict; his discipline not so severe, his sustenance full as good, and his labour, upon the whole, less harsh and burthenfome: but, without dwelling longer on that subject, you can have no objection to gold, gums, ivory, wax, dying woods, &c. which may be procured in quantities beyond arithmetical calculation. I have ever comprehended that the African trade takes off a great quantity of your East-India goods, English woollens, and hardware articles, &c. and, at one time, there were circulating in Great Britain 400,000 guineas, made of the gold brought home under the African Company, and from whence that coin, I imagine, first took its denomination.

These are distinguishable from other current guineas by the figure of an elephant.

So far from expecting the African trade to flourish under the present laws and management, I am confident it cannot, without a complete radical reform, much longer exist at all. The failure of the Joint-stock Companies was not occasioned by the impolicy of their system: the last Royal African Company began with little more than one hundred and eleven thousand pounds, and the after-demands were not very considerable; yet they expended in Africa, one way or other, and to the great advancement of their own interests and the interests of Great Britain, above 1,400,000*l.* sterling; and when the trade, in King William's reign, was made open and free to all adventurers, more perhaps through Dutch interest than with a view to English policy, the Company divided 40 per cent. on their original stock. After the Act of 1697, the company traded to much disadvantage against the free merchant, having a great establishment to maintain at their several settlements, and the communications to keep open at their charge: besides which a number of pirates did terrible mischief on the Gold Coast. The African trade is too complicated, too weighty and diffuse for the Ministers of the Crown to wield: besides, a ministerial Board of Commissioners is eternally fluctuating and changeable, and has already more to answer for than can be fitly administered: the civilized kingdoms of Europe are so differently constituted, that,

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by means of a central government, acting with energy and dispatch to its several extremities, and where no extraneous, coercive power is allowed to operate in the intercourses of commerce between nation and nation, excepting by secretaries of state, ambassadors, consuls, &c. the case is very different; but, in the dealings of Britain on commercial principles with the numberless savage nations of Africa, there is in general no need of the interposition of the Ministers of the Crown, further than as public guardians of your rights against the enmity and encroachments of other European states trading in rivalry, and to cover your navigation on the high seas. Let us now see how far our present Ministers have fulfilled or neglected these obligations. The fort of Albreda, on the river Gambia, became ours by the treaty of Paris in 1773, when all the dependencies of Senegal were ceded to Great Britain; a right in us which I will undertake to prove clearly to the House, if the fact be denied;—the French have been suffered to continue in possession of it, and from thence carry on a very beneficial commerce. In 1772, a vessel sailed from Albreda on French account, with a more valuable cargo on board than any English ship has ever been freighted with. The Dutch (it appears by the report now in the House) impede by violence your trade with the Portuguese; and these good friends and allies of yours, the Portuguese, are continually confiscating your ships and cargoes when they touch at their settlements. In 1773, the Adventure sloop, Capt. Windsor, put in near Zinging Shore, with a signal of distress flying, and four feet water in the hold: he had leave to take out his goods, and stop the leak; but immediately on the seamen landing, they were seized and put into a dungeon, where one or two died through extreme ill usage; the rest were indeed some time after sent to Gambia; but the effects of the owners, worth upwards of 2000*l.* were irrecoverably lost. A still more glaring outrage from the same quarter has recently happened to one of his Majesty's vessels of war, commissioned by our Commander in Chief on that station. She had occasion to touch at a Portuguese settlement, where she was taken possession of, and all her crew imprisoned; the Captain, who (as I understand) became appointed to that post from being first Lieutenant of his Majesty's frigate the Pallas, is lately arrived in England from Lisbon, but the men are still prisoners in Africa. This is rather a worse story, taking all its circumstances, than the late capture of the Morning-Star by the Spaniards. 'Tis reported that

that the pretext was similar. She also was mistaken for an American privateer. But to draw towards a conclusion, after troubling the House so long, let me urge it as the immediate duty of parliament, to take some steps towards the advancement of the general trade to Africa, which may, with proper care, save the *debris* of this once mighty empire, when America shall be no longer ours. If the project of two Companies, as I before stated, should hereafter be approved of, perhaps our Ministers, by making over the castle, slaves, forts, settlements, and effects, (which belong to the public) may not only be exonerated of further annual charges usually provided for by parliament, but may bargain for the full discharge of the present arrear of debt to the Committee and their servants. At all events, I shall beg leave to offer this motion, founded on precedent; and, in my mind, the only salutary project that can be adopted before the approaching prorogation of parliament: however, if by being introduced in the present stage of the business, it can eventually impede a discussion of the crimes alledged against the Members of the present African Committee, I shall in justice to them, readily wave a division upon it till that trial is over.

Mr. Luttrell then stated his intended motion, which was to address his Majesty, “to direct the Board of Trade and Plantations to consider all such plans and propositions that may in the course of the summer be laid before them, by the merchants trading to Africa, for the better supporting the forts, and for preserving, improving, and extending the general trade to Africa from Port Sallee, in South Barbary, to the Cape of Good Hope; and to report early in the next session, to the House, such proposal or plan as the said Commissioners shall find most proper to answer the aforesaid purposes.”

Mr. *Vyner* arose, and spoke in high terms of commendation Mr. *Vyner*. on the foregoing copious and authentic representation of the British trade to Africa, but approved of going immediately into a committee upon the report and petitions delivered in, and received by the House. He said, when that part of the enquiry was ended, he should be happy to second Mr. Luttrell's motion, and did not doubt but it would meet with general support.

Mr. *Bamber Gascoyne*, though a Lord of Trade, bore testimony to the correctness of the state of the African affairs in Mr. *Bamber Gascoyne*. general, as stated by Mr. Luttrell: Mr. Gascoyne, declared he had himself for many years past, made this unfashionable topic one of the principal objects of his dispassionate study and pursuit,

purſuit. And aſſured the Houſe, he would undertake to bring every article of the charges contained in the report before the Houſe, home to the committee-men.

Mr. Burke replied ſhortly, but pointedly, to Mr. Gaſcoyne; and Mr. Devaynes ſaid a few words in his own exculpation, as a member of the African committee; when the petition on behalf of the ſaid African committee, to be heard at the bar by counſel, was read, and the counſel called in.

The return of the Board of Trade was read, ſtating in ſubſtance, That application having been made to the Board of Trade from ſeveral perſons trading to the coaſt of Africa, application was made to the noble Lord who preſides at the head of the American department, who, after ſome days conſideration, referred the contents and facts ſtated in ſaid applications to the Board. The report then proceeds to ſtate the proceedings of the Board of Trade, from early in the month of February till the month of April, incluſive. By which it appeared, that Mr. Gaſcoigne, Mr. Greville, and Mr. Keene, principally attended. Each day's deliberation of the Board, the perſons who compoſed it, the names of the witneſſes examined, and the time to which they adjourned, are ſpecifically mentioned. The moſt ſtriking facts that appeared, or were given in evidence to the Board, were to the following effect:

That the African trade was conſiderably diminiſhed ſince even the year 1749; but more particularly ſo within the laſt eight or ten years. The number of ſailors, tons of ſhipping, and ſuppoſed value, were enumerated, to prove the diminution. Several cauſes were ſtated, as effecting this alarming decrease; ſuch as the power of the governors of the forts and under officers and dependants; the interference of the people of America, who carried on a direct trade on their own account; the purchaſing great quantities of goods for the African market in Holland, and from the Dutch governors in the neighbouring ſettlements; the increaſed price of Negroes and gold duſt; the increaſed value of piece goods; and the partial, oppreſſive, and intereſted conduct of the governors, and other people in power on the coaſt.

To prove the injury the forts and governors were to the trade to Africa, the evidence of ſeveral perſons was read, which ſhewed, that cargoes were eaſier procured, commodities cheaper purchaſed, and freight more ſpeedily got, where captains ſlaved and bartered for themſelves, without any aſſiſtance

sistance or protection from the forts or governors. The governors being all traders on their own account, or factors for their principals here, monopolized every thing in their respective neighbourhoods; and consequently fixed the market, and set the price at their pleasure. On the other hand, if the captains complained of any bad treatment, and sought redress, the black merchants, and those who assisted them, being generally the direct aggressors or instigators of all outrages committed on British subjects; and being, in fact, the servants or agents of the governors, the parties aggrieved were sure to be denied any redress. Nay, indeed, where no governor or visible protection was at hand, the British subjects were generally much readier and more completely redressed; and if the black merchants were willing to trade on their own account, they could not do it; the stock they traded with belongs always to the governor; and if they buy two slaves, the money or value with which they are purchased, is generally advanced by the governor, or some person employed under him or the company.

Numerous circumstances appeared in the report relative to the comparative value of gold and elephants' teeth, the low price of piece goods, the difficulty of getting slaves in exchange for commodities, and a great variety of other instances, every one of which almost was attributed to the abuses which have arisen in the civil government.

In this detail, the particular advantages of purchasing slaves with gold, in preference to goods, was insisted upon as a very great grievance, and very hurtful to the trade to that country, to individuals, and to the nation at large. Slaves were generally purchased formerly at ten pounds a-piece upon an average, male and female; whereas now their value was nearly doubled.

Narratives were likewise given, of ships sailing from Liverpool and London to Rotterdam, and other ports of Holland, there taking in the greater part of their lading, East-India and other goods, and trafficking with them, instead of English, East-India, or Manchester goods, of similar fabric.

Proofs were given of ships trading directly from Virginia, and other parts of America, and disposing of their cargoes, tobaccos and other commodities, the produce of that country, on the coast, and in return purchasing slaves, and returning whence they came, under the sufferance, or rather the open toleration of the governors and other subordinate persons in command.

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When the reading of the report was finished, several witnesses were called to the bar and examined, which produced a perpetual scene of attack and defence by the contending parties, till three quarters after twelve o'clock, when a motion was made to adjourn to the 30th.

May 30.

Sir Henry
Houghton.

Sir *Henry Houghton*, chairman of the African committee, reported the resolutions of the committee, viz.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the words following, in the return from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, namely, "That a private trade, directly tending to a monopoly, hath been set up and established by the governors and chiefs of the forts in Africa; and that this private trade, so injurious to the interests of the public, hath been carried on by them in conjunction with persons at home; some one or more of whom have, at the same time, been members of the committee above-mentioned," do not relate to any of the nine members who constitute the present committee of merchants trading to Africa.

Resolved, That (it appearing to this committee, as well from the return of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, as from the evidence produced in support thereof, that several abuses are alledged to prevail in the manner of carrying on the trade of the gold coast and Whydah) it is the opinion of this committee, that the same may deserve the attention and future consideration of Parliament.

The said resolutions being read a second time, were agreed to by the House.

Adjourned to June 2.

June 2.

Mr. Lut-
trell.

Mr. *Luttrell* again rose on the subject of the African trade. He reprehended the ministers in vehement terms for not having fulfilled the desire of Parliament, and his Majesty's instructions for investigating the general trade to Africa, and for breaking up the committee of the House on the preceding debate on this subject, in so hasty, unparliamentary, and indecent a manner. He said, that if the communications were again opened by the Nigris, (or Gambia river) to the mouth of the Nile, perhaps we might one day or other return to the neighbouring regions, now in a rude and savage state of inculture, those sciences, those arts, and models of refined taste, which we, Britain, originally attained from thence, either through the schools of Greece and Rome, or, perhaps still more immediate, as some of the best accredited English historians

Historians affirm, who derive the first stock of our ancestors from the coasts of Egypt; or neighbouring cities of Phœnicia; that, when those people first traded to the western parts of this island, they were (like us at the present day) in the full height of luxury and commercial policy; the first characters among the antients cultivated their godlike talents in those climes; Homer, Pythagoras, Archimedes, the divine masters of poetry, philosophy, architecture, and physics, owed more to the lights of Egypt than to those of Ionia, or the Peloponese. In those ages let us view the state in which they found us Britons; we were full as barbarous as we now see the most disgusting figures among them; we dwelt in huts made of mud and the boughs of trees, went stark naked, all to the skin of some wild beast knotted round the waist; we besmeared and lacquered our carcases with grease and various colours; and, like them at this day, inhumanly butchered our captives indiscriminately, sacrificing our chief prisoners in a solemn and sacred pageant at the altar of the idol of Victory. Mr. Luttrell urged, that the consumption, at future periods, of our commodities among the Africans could no more be ascertained or limited in reason, by what the several natives of that quarter of the world now require for their present simple and incommunicate stile of living, particularly in the Mahomedan countries north of the river Gambia, than the demands in trade of the natives of Great Britain for subsequent, could have been entertained by the first Tyrian navigators and adventurers who brought hither their ingenious and valuable commodities, to exchange them with the miners of Cornwall for tin. Mr. Luttrell added, that he could but consider this business on both sides, to be somewhat similar to the altercation between Peachum and Lockit in the play of the Beggar's Opera, the committee for the gold coast, and the ministers for Senegambia, saw the ill consequences if they neglected to smother all further public enquiry, and shook hands and agreed to be silent on the subject: "Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong!"

Lord North. His Lordship excused himself from taking up this very complex and important matter just at the close of a long protracted session, with few members in town, any further than to move for the 13,000l. annually granted by Parliament, to maintain the forts and settlements under the direction of the African committee. This motion, his Lordship gave notice, he intended to make on the Thursday following; but he would take due care that his motion should

be so framed, as to secure the application of the said sum solely to the uses for which it was designed and granted by the legislature.

Mr. Burke. Mr. *Burke* was against revising the state of the trade to Africa in general, for fear of doing more harm than good in these times; he seemed to be apprehensive, that, were Parliament to enter on that wide system, their discussions would probably only terminate in government jobs, and putting the trade upon a still worse footing than at present. He was likewise very able and witty on the extensive field opened by Mr. *Luttrell* in this debate, as to the rude state of our British ancestors, and their primitive descent from the swarthy inhabitants of the confines of the river Nile. There being scarce forty members on this occasion present, the sequel of the business was obliged to be deferred till Thursday the 5th, to which day the House adjourned.

June 5.

Ld. North. Lord *North* moved, "An humble address to the King, that he would be graciously pleased to order the sum of 13,000*l.* to be issued to the African company, for the maintenance of their garrisons, and for the repair and keeping up of their forts, &c. on the coast of Africa; and that his Majesty would be pleased to direct, that the said sum be not applied to the discharge of any arrears of the said Company's debts, contracted prior to the 30th of December, 1776." This motion was carried in the affirmative without any division.

Mr. Burke. However, Mr. *Burke* spoke in favour of the African committee, and defended the conduct of the Company's affairs in general, and the necessity of granting them a still farther parliamentary aid.

Mr. Bamber Gascoigne. Mr. *Bamber Gascoigne* replied to Mr. *Burke*, and was violent in his censures upon the African committee, and their servants on the coast. He expressed a wish, that the mal-administration of our commerce in those parts might be searched to the bottom, and he did not doubt but the House would be satisfied of the necessity of a new and more correct system.

Mr. Devaynes. Mr. *Devaynes* being one of the nine committee-men who have the care and government of the African trade, he thought it immediately incumbent upon him to enter on the charges in general, and to make some observations on the accounts. He said much in justification of himself and the other gentlemen of the committee, and seemed to give entire satisfaction as to what related to himself, and the manage-

ment

ment of the trade, for the few years during which he has been chosen as director.

Sir William Meredith. He did not speak long upon the subject, but expressed himself much in favour of the present system for the gold coast, and southern districts in Africa; and was, upon the whole, a very zealous and intelligent advocate for the gentlemen of the committee, whose conduct had been thus severely arraigned. *Sir William Meredith.*

Mr. Temple Luttrell. He expressed his approbation of the motion proposed by Lord North, as it effectually secured the 13,000*l.* granted by Parliament, to the purposes for which they voted it; and indeed the sum would be indispensably necessary, for you must otherwise abandon altogether your forts and factories, for which you pay every year ground-rent and port customs to the natives. He remarked, however, that the money now given would be for the year 1778. *Mr. T. Luttrell.* Mr. Luttrell reprehended the Board of Trade for wasting the whole session in a loose, inaccurate enquiry into the trade of one part of the coast of Africa only, and then coming with their report so late to the House, that there was not time enough to go thoroughly into the merits of it. He considered the African company to be in a situation similar to what it was in 1749, when the bad conduct of its servants, and decline of trade, rendered an application to this House necessary, and wished Parliament now to do what it did then, call for a general information. I am of opinion, Sir, that the trade of Africa will admit of very great improvements, and they are now of the more consequence, because we may not long possess any American commerce; it therefore behoves us well to take care of what is really within our power. The improvement of your marine nurseries, and an extension of your commerce to Africa, may yet maintain the British realm in splendour and prosperity, when her colonies on the other side of the Atlantic are totally separated from her empire; a foederal union for the reciprocal interest of two distinct nations, is all you have now to hope for from your seceded provinces. Sir, we have had factories in the internal parts of Africa on the Gambia, near 800 miles from the mouth of that river, to which vessels of between 30 and 40 tons have navigated, and it flows through a country, I will venture to assert, the superior of the North American continent in every commercial light, its influx and ebb almost equal to the Nile for depth and rapidity. The neighbouring regions produce gums of the richest kind, mahogany, cedar,

cedar, palm oil, and other oils, and all sorts of valuable timber for ship-building; tobacco in the greatest plenty, rice, indigo of the finest sort, pitch, rosin, skins, and, in a word, every valuable production we receive from America. This country, which is extremely populous, might be made to contribute in a variety of ways to the support of the commercial interests of these kingdoms. In the slave trade also, there might be prodigious improvements, but the attention of the Board of Trade and Plantations in this matter has been too much limited; the Negroes from the gold coast suit our West India islands remarkably well; they are laborious, bold, hardy, and live upon little besides salt fish and roots, which they meet with in Jamaica. The Negroes from Congo, Angola, and the lower Guinea, are of a more soft, voluptuous, and effeminate nature, and their women chiefly till the ground; so that upon being transplanted to the hardships of our sugar colonies, they commit suicide rather than endure them: hence it is that one gold coast Negro is worth, for sugar plantations, two of the others; but in North America, where they meet with food and entertainment, and usage better adapted to their habits, they do perfectly well. Sir, there are other points relative to the state of our concerns on those coasts, which ought to be fully discussed, and on which I have touched upon a former occasion,

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke. I shall not follow the honourable gentleman in the detail he has given of what might be done; I believe he is very right in a part of what he has told, but I can by no means agree with him, or with any man, that the servants of the Company have behaved themselves wrong; instead of having been wanting in œconomy, they have exerted such an œconomy as this House has not been used to; they have supported eleven forts, ten governors, and the establishments necessary for them, and treaties with the country powers; yet with all this, they are not accused of contracting a greater debt in so many years than 16,000*l*.

Mr. Gascoigne.

Mr. Gascoigne seemed to rejoice at *Mr. Burke's* mentioning the debt as 16,000*l*. and ridiculed the idea of the servants being such faithful ones while contracting such a debt.

Mr. Burke.

Mr. Burke retorted upon *Mr. Gascoigne's* speaking in the stile of accusation, when he was the judge, which he said was such a perversion of the distinctions of judge, jury, and party, that he congratulated his feelings on it. "Nature had made him the accuser, an Act of Parliament the judge; but I hope

I hope the gentleman is not my accuser: I thank my God he is not my judge."

Mr. *Devaynes* said a word or two in accusation of the conduct of the Board of Trade. Mr. *Devaynes*.

Mr. *Hartley* went upon the cruelties of slavery, and urging the Board of Trade to take some means of mitigating it; Mr. *Hartley*. he produced a pair of hand-cuffs, which he said was a manufacture they were now going to establish. He then digressed a little to the American question of taxation, and freeing their municipal governments from the controul of Parliament.

Lord North's motion being carried, Mr. Luttrell made his motion, which was, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to be graciously pleased to give directions to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to enquire into the state of the general trade to Africa from Port Sallee in South Barbary to the Cape of Good Hope inclusive, to receive what plans or proposals the merchants of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, trading to Africa, may submit to their consideration for the better regulating, preserving, and extending the same; and early in the next session of Parliament to report to this House such opinions thereupon as shall appear to said Commissioners most beneficial to the commerce of Great Britain and her colonies."

It passed in the negative.

June 6.

The King came to put an end to the session.

The Speaker after having presented the four bills of supplies for the royal assent, delivered himself as follows:

"Your Commons, Sir, through the course of a very long session, have been principally attentive to the distracted state of your Majesty's colonies in North America; and see with the deepest concern the continuance of disorder and rebellion there; for they hoped that means would have been found to stop the ravages of war, and the destruction of your Majesty's subjects, which, if not timely done, there is too much reason to fear, will be attended with consequences ruinous to the prosperity, perhaps dangerous to the safety, of this country. The
Speaker.

"However, Sir, your faithful Commons still relying upon your Majesty, which they do with the greatest confidence, knowing that you have no other interest than the welfare of your people, have, by ways the least burthensome to their constituents, again raised great and ample supplies, have
again

again strengthened your Majesty's hands with all the powers of war, at the same time earnestly wishing that the terror of those powers may facilitate a reconciliation, and that your Majesty may be enabled the sooner to restore to us the blessings of peace."



I N D E X

T O T H E

S E V E N T H V O L U M E.

H O U S E o f C O M M O N S.

- | | | | |
|--|------------|---|-----|
| A BSTRACT of the supplies and ways and means | 195 | Astley, Sir Edward, rises to oppose the report of the committee of supply | 107 |
| Account of the civil list expences in 1776 | 79 | — supports the motion of Sir James Lowther, in behalf of the two royal brothers | 165 |
| — of the payments of his Majesty's civil government for the same period | ibid. | — suspects administration of the most shameful prodigality | 220 |
| — shewing the amount of monies that would have been applicable to the King's civil government if granted as formerly | ib. | Attorney General, opposes Mr. Luttrell's motion for a bill for the better manning of the navy | 23 |
| — of sums due and unpaid, | 60 | — enters into a kind of dissection of the Speaker's address to the King | 171 |
| Adam, Mr. rises in support of the proposed augmentation of the civil list | 85 | Bagot, Sir William, opposes the Birmingham play-house bill | 136 |
| — pays a great compliment to <i>Ld. North</i> | 86 | — the Roman theatres were the cause of the decline of that state | 137 |
| — insists that encreasing the revenue of the civil list would add security to the liberty of the subject | 87 | Baldwin, Mr. objects to the propriety of the German demands | 160 |
| African company's petition | 233 | Barré, Col. opposes paying the civil list debts, or making any further allowance | 112 |
| — Trade, the state of, considered | 249 to 263 | — turns his attention to a certain race of animals called Contractors | 113 |
| Astley, Sir Edward, seconds Mr. Luttrell's motion relative to the better manning of the navy | 16 | — concludes with remarking the hardships borne by the Irish | 114 |
| — states the nature of the intended bill | 17 | | |

I N D E X.

- Barre, Col. attacks the profusion and extravagance of administration 151
- threatens Lord North with a future charge 193
- waits with astonishment to hear something of the state of Europe and America from administration 210
- attacks Lord George Germaine 216
- attacks Lord North on the rum contracts 219
- Bayley, Mr. supports Sir W. Meredith's motion on the West-India island lumber bill 150
- the hardships of the West-India planters great and many, 151
- offers to supply government with rum at a cheap rate 213
- Bill, proposed by Mr. Luttrell for the better manning of the navy 23
- seamen to be allowed 30s. per month and serve only three years 24
- ordinary seamen to have 24s. per month and to serve five years ibid.
- able-bodied landmen 22s. per month and to serve six years ib.
- to be allowed additional wages if detained longer in the service 26
- seamen who have served out their time to be occasionally promoted 27
- to be allowed to remit their wages to their wives or families, ib.
- wages of seamen in merchantmen regulated 28
- to receive certificates on their discharge 30
- aged seamen to receive pensions ib.
- seamen to be called to the service by proclamation 31
- not entering within a limited time to be considered as fugitives 32
- Bill, punishment of seamen for secreting themselves 33
- officers allowed to visit ships at sea and take the names of the crew 34
- penalty for secreting a seaman 35
- punishment for desertion ib.
- in what manner to be discharged from the service in foreign parts 36
- seamen to receive a certificate on being turned over to another ship ib.
- stoppages in their wages, and for what purpose 37
- encouragement to seamen in the coal-trade ib.
- to prevent impositions by binding young men apprentices 38
- officers of merchantmen to take out certificates 38
- printed extracts of this bill to be read in all churches 39
- all apprentices to give in their names at the expiration of their apprenticeship ib.
- form of seamen's discharge from the service 40
- the pay of the petty officers of every denomination 41
- form of certificate by which seamen are to receive their pensions 42
- form of different oaths and certificates 42 to 44
- for a play-house in Birmingham, rejected 142
- for securing dock-yards, &c. dropped 182
- Booth, Mr. opposes receiving the German accounts as just 161
- Buller, Mr. opposes Mr. Luttrell's motion for a bill for the better manning of the fleet 17
- Bunbury, Sir Charles, rises to make an addition to the servants tax-bill 238
- Bunbury,

I N D E X.

- Bunbury, Sir Charles, wishes that Sir William and Lord Howe were employed as ambassadors rather than warriors, as ministers of peace not as ministers of vengeance 239
- considers the age of the servant to be taxed 240
- denies Lord North's calculations to be just 241
- Burke, Mr. opposes the proposed augmentation of the civil list 83
- rises to still an uproar raised by Mr. Sawbridge 116
- enters into a detail of the civil list expenditures 120
- observes that the House has of late been very liberal, not of thousands but of millions 131
- speaks to the Birmingham play-house bill 140
- corrects Sir William Bagot in a point of chronology 141
- imagined that the German accounts were settled many years since 154
- denies that good faith or national honour was observed in that affair 156
- considers the settling of the German accounts as giving so much money to the civil list 157
- answered by Lord North, and replies thereto 157
- extremely jocular on Mr. Cornwall 162
- is witty on the support Mr. Jenkinson gives to Lord North 192
- insists on being heard 230
- replies to the Lord Advocate on the affair of Lord Pigot 231
- is against meddling with African affairs 260
- rises in support of the African company 262
- Byng, Mr. rises to speak to the message from his Majesty for an augmentation of the civil list 80
- laments the enormous encrease of pensions 157
- Cavendish, Lord John, rises to oppose the augmentation of the civil list 63
- adverts to a saying of King James the First 157
- asserts that the honour and dignity of the crown is made a pretext for every application 64
- Chasseurs, state of one battalion of 52
- Civil List, a paper communicated to the editor relative thereto 56
- debate thereon 63 to 97
- list of the members who voted against encreasing the revenue of 98
- Cockburn, Sir James, rises to explain the circumstances of his contract for 100,000 gallons of Granada rum 212
- Combe, Mr. wishes it to be made death for setting merchant ships, &c. on fire 175
- Convention between his Majesty and the Hereditary Prince of Hesse 49
- Conway, Gen. laments the fate of Lord Pigot 229
- Cooper, Sir Grey, makes a motion in the committee of supply 130
- supports Lord North on the propriety of the German accounts 157
- insists that nothing can be more clear than those accounts, 161
- Cornwall, Mr. rises to justify the German demands relative to hospitals 154
- insists that the demand is neither stale nor dormant 159
- endeavours further to support it 161
- Curfory observations on encreasing the revenue of the civil list 101 to 105
- Dempster, Mr. opposes the bringing up of the report from the committee of supply 106
- considers the accounts before

I N D E X.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>fore the House as imperfect and defective 107</p> <p>Dempster, Mr. speaks in support of the Birmingham play-house bill 139</p> <p>— accuses Lord North of adding to, instead of diminishing, the national debt 209</p> <p>— attributes the disturbances in the east to the intrigues of the Nabob — 233</p> <p>Devaynes, Mr. speaks in justification of himself as an African committee-man — 260</p> <p>— arraigns the conduct of the board of trade — 263</p> <p>Dundas, Mr. (Lord Advocate) speaks on the affairs of Lord Pigot 229</p> <p>Dunning, Mr. considers the dignity of the House as gone, if the chair is suffered to be degraded 171</p> <p>— accuses Lord North of ignorance in the business of contracts — 214</p> <p>Ellis, Mr. reviews the several applications made by the crown to Parliament — 111</p> <p>— considers the use made of secret service money — 112</p> <p>— rises in defence of the Speaker's conduct — 170</p> <p>— observes that the chairman ought to be supported in maintaining order — 230</p> <p>Establishment of the troops of the Margrave of Brandenburg 47</p> <p>Estimate of the charge of the additional corps of foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain 53</p> <p>Fox, Mr. rises to oppose the proposed augmentation of the civil list 95</p> <p>— thinks that the ministry add mockery to contempt, and blend insult with derision 96</p> <p>— attacks the veracity of Lord North — 97</p> <p>— and the validity of the accounts laid before the House 118</p> | <p>Fox, Mr. draws a comparison between the present administration and that of the late Duke of Newcastle — 119</p> <p>— considers the King's name as frequently prostituted by his ministers — ib.</p> <p>— supports the character of Mr. Yates, in the debate on the Birmingham play-house bill 138</p> <p>— rises in defence of the motion in behalf of the two royal brothers 167</p> <p>— replies to Mr. Rigby, in defence of the Speaker — 169</p> <p>— insists that the great object of the war was a revenue to be drawn from America — 190</p> <p>— considers the tea-tax as the cause of the American war ib.</p> <p>— very severe upon the cruel and inhuman conduct of the Hessians — 191</p> <p>— rises in support of the conduct of Lord Pigot — 228</p> <p>— passes the highest encomiums on his virtues and military talents ib.</p> <p>— is of opinion that servant boys ought not to be taxed 243</p> <p>Gascoyne, Bamber, speaks to the petition from the African company — 255</p> <p>— violent in his censures on the African committee 260</p> <p>Germaine, Lord George, rises to give his opinion on the American war, and answer some questions put to him — 214</p> <p>— mentions all the promising circumstances of the war 215</p> <p>— replies to Col. Barré 216</p> <p>Gough, Sir Henry, opposes the Birmingham play-house bill 139</p> <p>Grenville, Mr. opposes the proposed augmentation to the civil list 114</p> <p>— insisted that 800,000l. was a noble, competent, and ample revenue — 115</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Griffin,</p> |
|---|---|

I N D E X.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Griffin, Sir J. G. opposes Sir James Lowther's motion respecting the two royal brothers 165</p> <p>Harris, Mr. rises in defence of the Birmingham play-house bill 142</p> <p>Hartley, Mr. D. solicits the attention of the House to the present state of the nation — 199</p> <p>— arraigns the conduct of the prime minister 200</p> <p>— agrees with the Speaker that we are labouring under burthens almost too heavy to be borne 201</p> <p>— calculates the American war at twenty millions expence to this nation — 202</p> <p>— points out the fatal effects of our disputes with America 203</p> <p>— the American war gives a mask to all nations to plunder us — 204</p> <p>— reads a motion in the shape of an address to the King 205</p> <p>— asks a question relative to the gold coin — 218</p> <p>— speaks on the cruelties of African slavery — 263</p> <p>House, the, in a committee on importing lumber from the Baltic 1</p> <p>Houghton, Sir Henry, opposes the German demands 158</p> <p>— considers it as a foreign tribute asked at a necessitous season ib.</p> <p>— as chairman of the African committee, reports their resolutions 258</p> <p>Howard, Sir George, rises to oppose complying with the German demands — 160</p> <p>— opposes Sir James Lowther's motion in behalf of the two royal brothers — 165</p> <p>Jenkinson, Mr. supports Lord North on the opening of the budget 191</p> <p>— laments the necessity of the war, and the loss it was to the kingdom — 213</p> | <p>Johnston, Gov. declares his abhorrence of the present mode of manning the navy by press warrants 18</p> <p>— opposes the proposed augmentation to the revenue of the civil list — 108</p> <p>— accuses administration of leaving every thing in darkness and obscurity — 109</p> <p>— what sum necessary to purchase a majority in the House 110</p> <p>— considers money as employed to enlighten the understandings of the members — 111</p> <p>— charges Mr. Rigby with indecency and scurrility 121</p> <p>— notices the enormous amount of secret service and the privy purse — 122</p> <p>— supports the motion in favour of the two royal brothers 166</p> <p>— rises in defence of the Speaker's conduct against the attack of Mr. Rigby 172</p> <p>— contends that the situation of this country is truly dreadful — 173</p> <p>— considers America as lost for ever — 192</p> <p>— witty on the admission of strangers into the House 194</p> <p>— recapitulates the eminent services of Lord Pigot in the East Indies — 220</p> <p>— points out the intrigues of government in East-India affairs — 221</p> <p>— animadverts on the scandalous means made use of to vilify Lord Pigot — 222</p> <p>— moves six resolutions on the conduct of Lord Pigot, &c. 223</p> <p>King, the, puts an end to the session, and is addressed by the Speaker 263</p> <p>Laroche, Sir James, opposes admitting strangers into the lobby 194</p> |
|--|--|

I N D E X.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>List of the members who voted against encreasing the revenue of the civil list 98</p> <p>— of those who voted on the same side, but not in the above list, 125</p> <p>Lowther, Sir James, proposes an amendment to the civil list bill, 123</p> <p>— speaks in defence of the two royal Dukes 124</p> <p>— makes a motion for the better provision for the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland 163</p> <p>— states the hardships of the two royal brothers 164</p> <p>— on admitting strangers into the gallery 194</p> <p>Luttrell, Hon. Temple, moves to bring in a bill for manning the navy in time of war 1</p> <p>— points out the fatal consequences of press-gangs 2</p> <p>— expatiates on the unconstitutional licence of the impress shamefully abused at the town of Leicester, &c. 3</p> <p>— mentions the hard fate of Robert Fospers and others 4</p> <p>— the alarming consequences of press-warrants to commerce 5</p> <p>— shews that the French have a much better method of manning their fleets 6</p> <p>— proves that our ships in general are not half manned 7</p> <p>— states the advantages of his proposed bill 8</p> <p>— gives the honour of inventing and arranging this plan to an old sea officer 9</p> <p>— perquisites to the board of admiralty for granting protections, 10</p> <p>— professional and commercial testimonies in favour of the plan 11</p> <p>— Mr. Richard Maitland's opinion of the plan 12</p> <p>— letters from a gentleman of the committee of trade at Sunderland on the the same subject 13</p> | <p>Luttrell, Hon. Temple, his plan for manning the navy, writings on, signed by numbers of masters of ships at Shields and New-Castle 14</p> <p>— offers to produce witnesses in support of his plan 15</p> <p>— states the hardships of the crew of the Glasgow man of war 16</p> <p>— makes his motion for leave to bring in the bill ib.</p> <p>— replies to Mr. Buller 17</p> <p>— rises in reply to Lord Mulgrave 22</p> <p>— his motion rejected on a division 23</p> <p>— rises in defence of admitting strangers into the House 143</p> <p>— severe upon administration 144</p> <p>— explains himself further on the business of admitting strangers 146</p> <p>— disapproves of the mode of contracting the debts, and the terms of the loan 210</p> <p>— speaks to the second petition from the African company 246</p> <p>— considers the African trade as a matter of the first importance to Great Britain 247</p> <p>— takes a concise view of the general state of our commerce to Africa ib.</p> <p>— traces its rise and progress 248</p> <p>— the ivory and gold trade much decreased of late years 249</p> <p>— censures the conduct of the company's servants 250</p> <p>— proposes what he thinks had best be done in the next session of Parliament 251</p> <p>— the trade of Senegambia in a declining state 252</p> <p>— insists that the African trade cannot flourish under the laws and management 253</p> |
|--|--|

I N D E X.

- Luttrell, Hon. Temple, considers how far the present ministry have fulfilled or neglected their duty 254
- makes a motion for an address to his Majesty on African affairs 255
- rises again on the subject of the African trade 258
- supports Lord North in his motion relative thereto 261
- his character of some of the African negroes 262
- moves for an address to his Majesty on African affairs 263
- Luttrell, Mr. James, opposes the Birmingham play-house bill 138
- is very severe on Mr. Yates the player 142
- Mackworth, Sir Herbert, speaks to Gov. Johnstone's motion on East-India affairs 225
- disapproves of the conduct of Lord Pigot 226
- Meredith, Sir William, opposes the admission of strangers into the House 148
- makes three motions relative to the carrying of lumber to the West India islands 149
- replies to Lord North in support of his motions *ib.*
- speaks to the bill for the preservation of the dock-yards, &c. 175
- doubts whether hanging ever did, or can, answer any good purpose 176
- insists that good policy will do what the fear of hanging cannot 177
- crimes are often made capital which scarce deserve whipping 178
- relates a singular hard case of a young woman who was hanged *ib.*
- quotes the Mosaic law, 179
- Meredith, Sir William, refers to the laws of the Great Alfred 180
- juries should only judge of the fact by the intention 181
- speaks in justification of the African committee 261
- Message from the King presented by Lord North 218
- Motion of the Hon. T. Luttrell, for leave to bring in a bill for the more easy manning of the royal navy 16
- rejected on a division 23
- for the admission of strangers into the House 143
- rejected on a division 149
- of Sir James Lowther for a better provision for the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland 163
- rejected on a division 168
- made by Mr. Fox in justification of the Speaker 170
- carried without a division 175
- Mulgrave, Lord, speaks to Mr. Luttrell's motion against manning the fleet by press-warrants 18
- declares his intention to oppose the motion 19
- considers the present mode of manning the navy as wisely planned 20
- asserts that our fleets cannot be supplied with hands by any other means *ib.*
- insists that the intended plan must be impracticable, &c. 21
- supports the mode of contracting adopted by the navy 219
- Museum, British, petitions the House for further assistance 126
- North, Lord, delivers a message from his majesty, asking an addition to his civil list 55
- rises in defence of that business 65
- hopes that the civil list expenses will not in future exceed 900,000*l. per annum* 66

North,

I N D E X.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>North, Lord, answers some parts of Lord John Cavendish's speech 67</p> <p>— rises in reply to Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Byng — 81</p> <p>— denies the accounts to be either defective, mutilated, or imperfect 82</p> <p>— further supports that assertion 108</p> <p>— rises to justify himself of a charge brought against him by Mr. Sawbridge — 117</p> <p>— denies having had any connection with Dignam — ib.</p> <p>— answers several questions put to him from different parts of the House — 118</p> <p>— supports the petition of the trustees of the British Museum, 126</p> <p>— opposes strangers being admitted into the House at any time, 145</p> <p>— opposes two of Sir William Meredith's motions in the West-India lumber bill — 149</p> <p>— rises to justify the German demands — 155</p> <p>— offers to produce papers in support of them — 156</p> <p>— answers an objection started by Mr. Burke — 157</p> <p>— his speech on opening the budget — 182</p> <p>— takes a view of the present state of American affairs — ib.</p> <p>— asserts that our armies did as much as could be expected 183</p> <p>— states the different items granted in the committee of supply, 184</p> <p>— proposes a tax upon male servants — 185</p> <p>— proposes an addition upon all deeds and paper writings signed 186</p> <p>— a tax on wrought or manufactured glass imported — ib.</p> <p>— upon estates, houses and goods, sold by public auction 187</p> | <p>North, Lord, having gone through the supplies, &c. proceeds to state the ways and means 188</p> <p>— is rather loose and general than pointed or explicit on the state of the nation 189</p> <p>— rises to answer Messrs. Fox and Burke — 192</p> <p>— answers Mr. Rathleigh's question — 207</p> <p>— boasts having paid off a million of the navy debt — 208</p> <p>— replies to the remarks of Mr. Dempster — 209</p> <p>— rises to answer Col. Barré, with respect to the contract business, 211</p> <p>— delivers a message from the King — 217</p> <p>— replies to Mr. Hartley's question relative to the gold coin 218</p> <p>— represents the Nabob as a poor, needy, miserable, ill-treated, dependent prince — 232</p> <p>— rises in support of the servants tax bill — 242</p> <p>— wishes to drop the affairs of the African company till the next session — 259</p> <p>— moves an address to the King in support of the African company 260</p> <p>Ongley, Lord, rises in opposition to the Speaker's address to his Majesty 173</p> <p>Palliser, Sir Hugh, replies to Mr. Luttrell on a question relative to the manning of the navy 18</p> <p>Petition from the trustees of the British Museum — 125</p> <p>— of the company of merchants trading to Africa — 233</p> <p>— another from the same company — 245</p> <p>Pownall, Gov. rises in support of the augmentation to the civil list, 122</p> <p>Press-gangs, their fatal consequences pointed out by the Hon. Temple Luttrell — 2</p> |
|---|--|

I N D E X.

Rashleigh, Mr. reprobates the tax upon sales by auction	207
Resolutions in a committee of supply	98
— relative to paying the debts of the civil list, and encreasing the income thereof	123
— of the committee of ways and means	125
— in the committee of supply	152
— for granting to his Majesty one million to defray extraordinary expences	218
— of the African committee	258
Rice, Mr. rises in support of the proposed augmentation of the civil list	85
Rigby, Mr. very violently attacks the opposers of the civil list augmentation	120
— attacks Gov. Johnstone, ib.	
— and reflects on the East-India company	121
— opposes the admission of strangers into the House	147
— strenuously opposes the motion in behalf of the two royal brothers	166
— arraigns the conduct of the Speaker with great acrimony	ib.
— attempts to justify his right to do so	169
— adheres to his principles, but moves for an adjournment	172
— withdraws his motion for an adjournment	175
— makes atonement to the present Speaker, and adverts to the conduct of the late	194
Rous, Mr. opposes the Birmingham play-house bill	142
— seconds Gov. Johnstone's motions on East-India affairs	223
— the directors considered as cyphers when they differ from administration	ib.
— supports the conduct of Lord Pigot in the East-Indies	224

Savile, Sir George, rises in defence of Mr. Luttrell's motion for a bill for the better manning of the navy,	22
— supports the Speaker's address to the King on the civil list augmentation	173
Sawbridge, Alderman, rises to account for the deficiency in the civil list	115
— occasions a warm and confused altercation in the House, ib.	
— resumes his speech, and repeats the offending words	116
— accuses Lord North of conspiring with Dignam	117
— makes his annual motion for shortening the duration of Parliaments	151
— supports the Speaker against the attacks of Mr. Rigby	173
Speaker of the House, his conduct arraigned with great acrimony by Mr. Rigby	166
— rises to justify himself against the aspersions of Mr. Rigby	168
— resolves to quit the chair if he does not give satisfaction to the House	170, 171
— receives the thanks of the House	175
— appeals to the house on the admission of strangers	193
— addresses his Majesty on the close of the session	263
— his speech on presenting to his Majesty the bill for the augmentation of the civil list, &c.	152
— receives the thanks of the House for the same	ib.
Stanley, Mr. rises to justify himself as cofferer of the household	108
Substance of the return of the board of trade on African affairs	256
Townshend, Right Hon. T. rises in support of Mr. Luttrell's motion against press-warrants	23
Townshend,	

I N D E X.

Townshend, Right Hon. T. expresses his surprise at the novelty of Mr. Adam's arguments - 88
 — is apprehensive of the encreasing influence of the crown, ib.
 — overturns an assertion made by Mr. Rice - 89
 — proceeds to consider the motion itself as made by Lord J. Cavendish — ib.
 — observes the increase of seizures of uncustomed goods 90
 — in the Duke of Newcastle's time the payments of the civil list never six weeks in arrears 91
 — pensions, annuities, and secret service money greatly encreased — 92
 — states that account 93
 — recommends to the minister a reduction of expences ib.
 — observes that the public burthens were every day rigidly encreasing - 24
 — opposes the Birmingham play-house bill - 139
 — states several ill consequences that would attend it — 140
 — considers the German accounts as made up most iniquitously — 155
 — and as the most extraordinary request that ever was made 156
 — considers Mr. Bishop's accounts as of no consequence to the point in debate - 161
 — the duty of the House to watch the minister in the disposal of the public money 219
 — rises in defence of the conduct of Lord Pigot 226
 — severe on the Nabob, the company's servants at, and the influence of the ministry over them 227
 — is glad to find country gentlemen begin to be sensible of the fatal effects of the American war, 242

Treaty between his Majesty and the Margrave of Anspach 44
 Vyner, Mr. speaks to the American war — 241
 — speaks in defence of the servants tax bill 242
 — rises to speak to the petition of the African company 255
 Wedderburne, Mr. wishes the dispute between the Speaker and Mr. Rigby to pass over without a division, 174
 Whitworth, Sir Charles, brings up the resolutions of the committee of supplies — 199
 Wilkes, Mr. rises to speak to the message from the King for an augmentation of the civil list 67
 — asserts that he has received injuries but no favours from the crown ib.
 — the expences of the civil list in some years of the late reign, 68
 — considers it as cruelty to endeavour to fleece the people 69
 — thinks that we ought to look back to what former princes and Parliaments have done ib.
 — considers the state of the civil list in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne - 70
 — George II. had a very numerous family as well as George III. 71
 — condemns the unsatisfactory accounts laid before the House, 72
 — alludes to a remarkable article under the head of secret and special services — ib.
 — some articles of the revenue of the crown omitted in the account — 73
 — wishes to know in what manner the King's debts have been contracted - 74
 — laments the situation of the Dukes of Gloucester and Cumberland — ib.
 — asserts that inward corruption is

I N D E X.

is the canker which gnaws the vitals of Parliament	75	Wilkes, Mr. the cause of his first expulsion	134
Wilkes, Mr. takes notice of a remarkable circumstance in the Preston election	76	—— asserts that the elective rights of the nation lie at the mercy of the crown	135
—— looks on the pension list as a great grievance	ib.	—— rises in support of the Birmingham play-house bill	141
—— the Doctors Johnston and Shebbeare a disgrace to the civil list	77	—— seconds Mr. T. Luttrell's motion for admitting strangers into the House	145
—— Mr. Hume pensioned for attacking religion, and Dr. Beattie for answering him	ib.	—— supports the motion in favour of the two royal brothers	168
—— the expences of the French King's household managed with prudence and justice	78	Wombwell, Mr. defends the conduct of the East-India court of proprietors	227
—— compares the troubles in America to the Trojan war	79	—— considers the affairs of the company as in a prosperous condition	228
—— rises in support of the petition from the trustees of the British Museum	127	—— moves for some particular papers to be read	230
—— wishes a public library were established at the Museum	128	—— replies to Mr. Burke	ib.
—— his character of King William as a man of taste	129	Yates's, Mr. character and conduct censured and defended, in the debates on the Birmingham play-house bill	136 to 142
—— ignorance, stupidity, and superstition, enemies to the polite arts	130	Yonge, Sir George, supports Mr. Luttrell's motion against press-warrants	18
—— makes his annual motion respecting the Middlesex election,	131	—— rises in defence of the Speaker against the aspersions of Mr. Rigby	174
—— insists that the right of representation is taken away	132	—— supports Lord North's opinion of the servants tax bill	242
—— considers the case of Messrs. Sykes and Rumbold	133		

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